CENTS

MAY 17, 1966

RUSSELL KIRK ON
Sex and Students

NATIONAL REVIEW

LINUS C. PAULING,

Plaintiff,

- against -

NATIONAL REVIEW, INC., WILLIAM A. RUSHER, and WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.,

Defendants.

- X

SILVERMAN, J.:

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of the plaintiff's case in the trial of an action for libel
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Also In This Issue:

MEYER ON THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE ♦ IS A MILITARY COUP IN THE MAKING IN ARGENTINA? ♦ ALEC WAUGH ON THE TAHITI OF THE MEDITERRANEAN ♦ ALSO EUGENE LYONS, BURNHAM, CROCE

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In This Issue . . .

➔ For its intrinsic interest, and also in order to put into the record some fresh revelations by Dr. **Linus Pauling,** we publish a mass of material from the legal proceedings just concluded, in which Pauling's million-dollar libel suit against this magazine, its publisher, and its editor was tossed out of court by Judge Samuel Silverman. Well, almost concluded: Pauling will appeal. Such legal harassment as this would scarcely have been visited on us had we been published in Britain. There, under the law, if A sues B for libel and loses, A must pay B's legal expenses. Ours were over $100,000. If you don't enjoy the feature, have the goodness at least not to charge us with paying too little for articles . . . **Spinoza Minor,** the B. Traven of the occult, asks whether Time has joined God in death. Answer next week, if there is a week. . . . The Time problem solved, we turn to Distance, hearing brilliantly various voices from London, Buenos Aires, Jakarta, and Djerba. **Colm Brogan** describes the great and petty symptoms of a British population suffering from an apparently terminal exhaustion. . . . **Robert Peter** analyzes the strength of the various Peróns and Perónisms, explaining how a very unusual coup may come about in the Argentine. . . . **Henry C. Atyeo,** filing copy from Bangkok, writes of the role played by Indonesian students in the downfall of Sukarno. A professor of history at New York University, Mr. Atyeo specializes in Middle Eastern affairs and is currently on an extended world tour. . . . **Alec Waugh** very much enjoyed "the Tahiti of the Mediterranean" and tells us why, in prose every bit as delectable as its subject.

➔ **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** surveys the moonscape of the GOP and offers some ideas on giving it some distinguishing characteristics that would be genuinely Republican and not impossible at the polls. . . . **James Burnham,** just back from an extended tour of France, muses about the gulf between the anti-Americanism of de Gaulle and the anti-anti-Americanism of the Frenchmen he talked with, and concludes that a nation whose cuisine is so—how you say?—*à point,* should not be counted on for global formulae. . . . Casting an unblinking eye at the gathering assault upon law and order in this country, **Frank S. Meyer** raises the question whether the citizenry should organize its own defense (yes, with weapons; and even if others may call it vigilanteism), and argues that we have not only the right but, in this case, the duty to do so. . . . **Russell Kirk** takes the measure of college campuses where student morality hardly falls short of the bawdy-house.

➔ The late Prof. Richard Weaver wrote few books and many short pieces, some of which, published now as *Life Without Prejudice,* are reviewed appreciatively by **Anthony Lejeune.** . . . **Eugene Lyons,** one of the premier anti-Communist authors and an editor of *Reader's Digest,* reviews a new work by Mr. Louis Budenz that is almost completely fine. . . . The great sf-fendi **Theodore Sturgeon** likes everything in an armload of new sf, excepting one bit in an anthology, which is T.S. . . . **Arlene Croce,** having seen Mary McCarthy's *The Group* on film, hopes someone will make a book out of it. ➔

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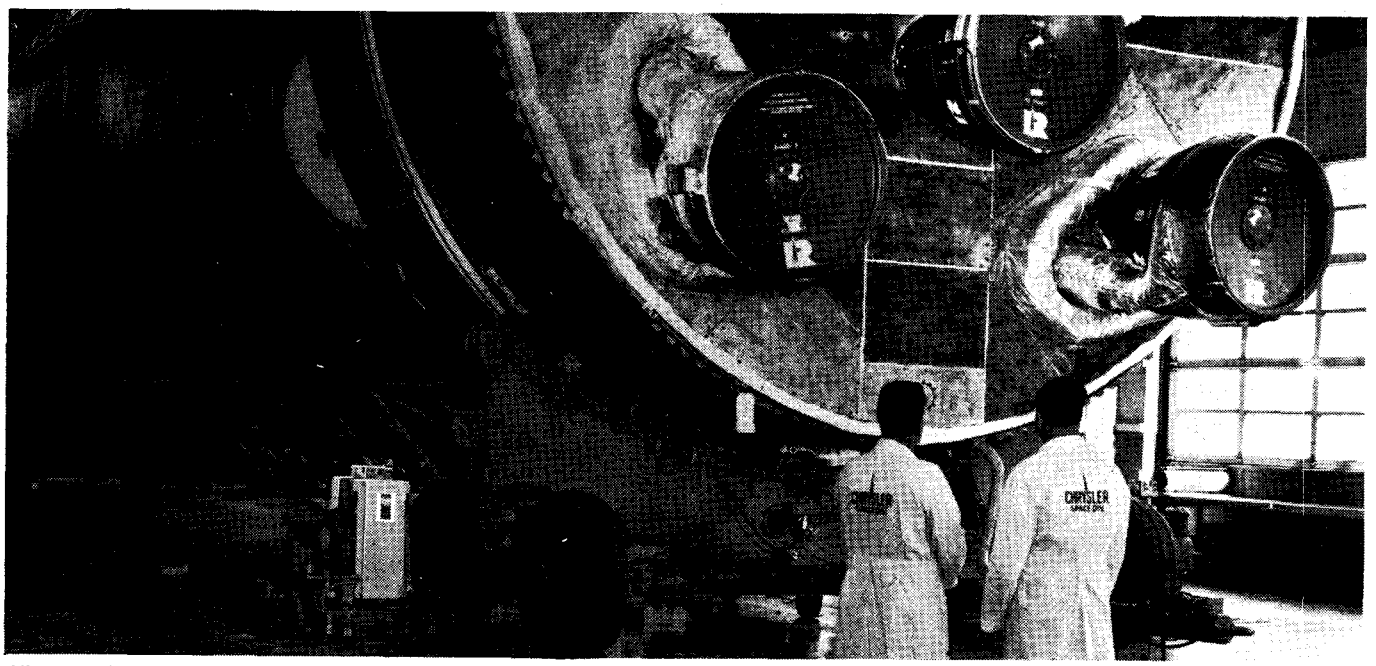

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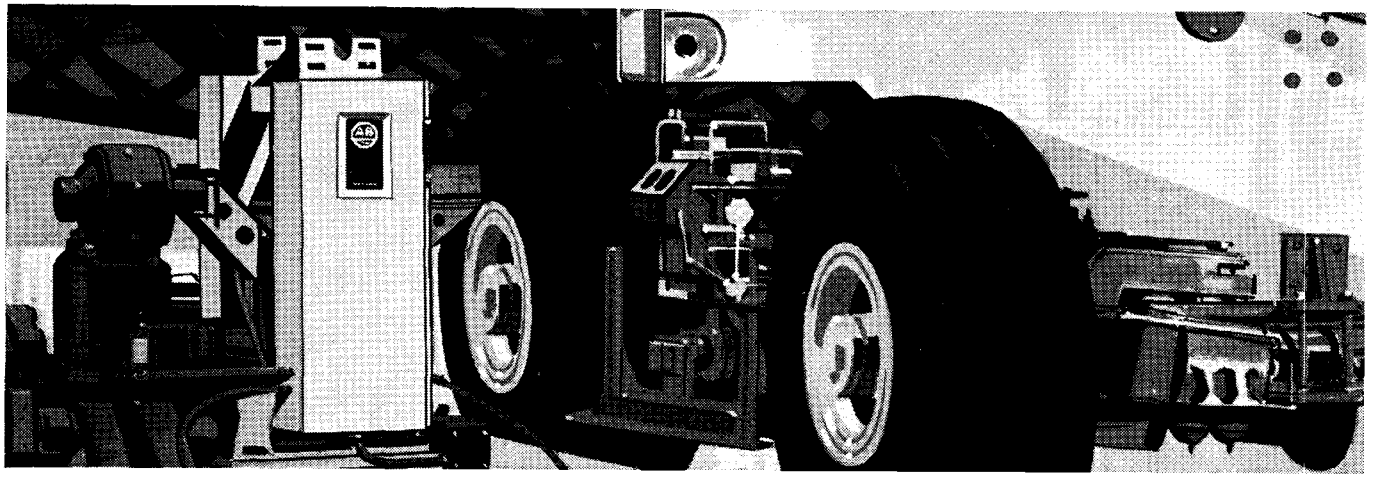

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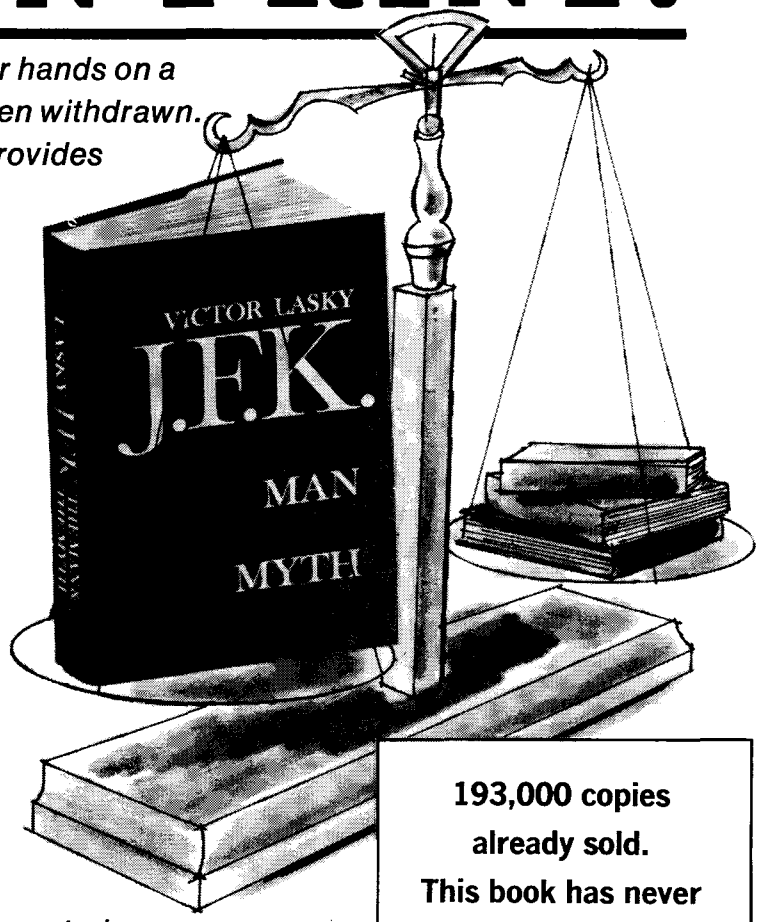

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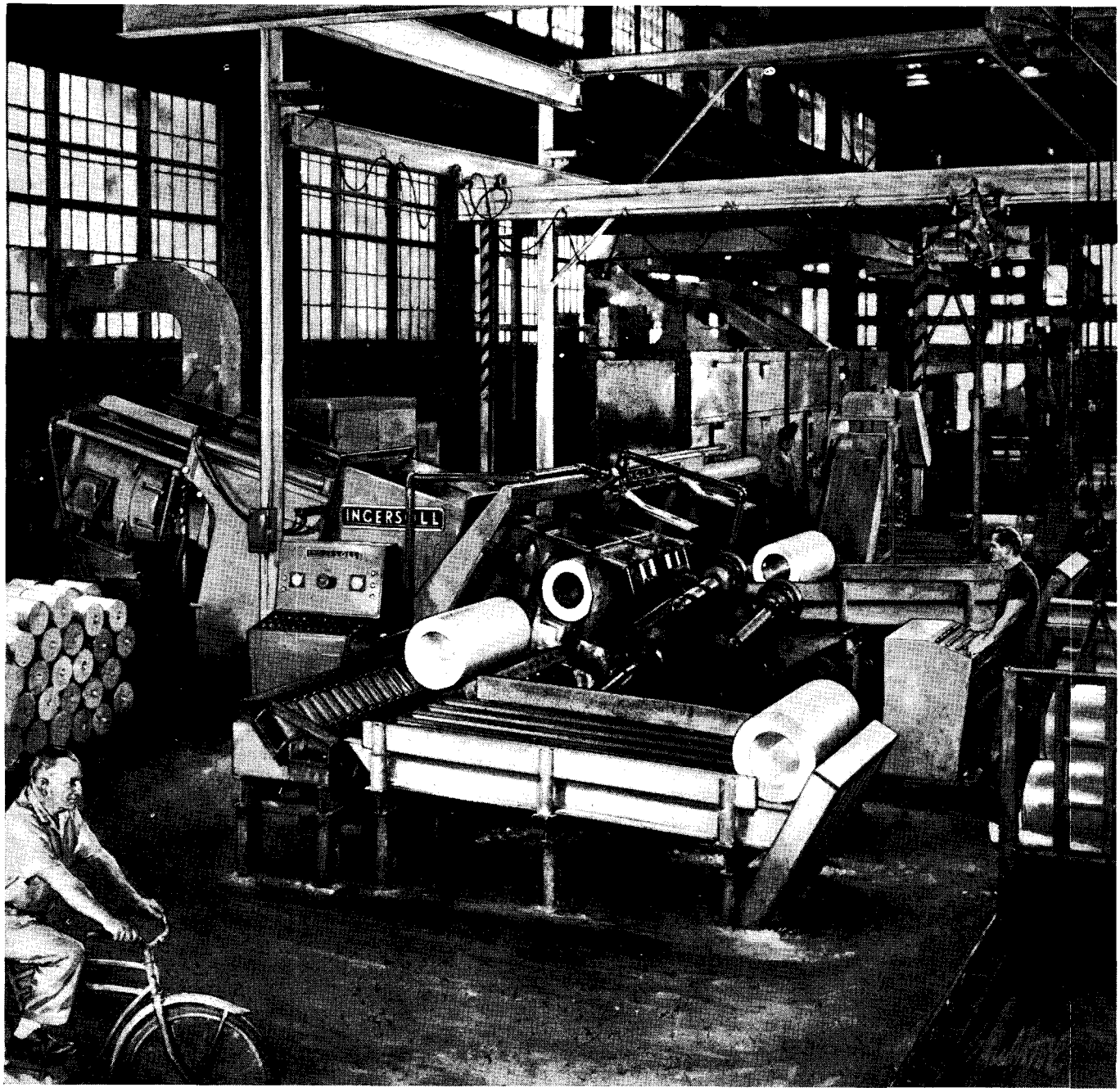

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TO THE EDITOR

Hearing from Evelyn Waugh

Reading your comment on the late Evelyn Waugh's habit of never answering his mail [May 3], I was reminded of the time in 1951 when I was working at the Catholic Information Society. A girl from *Life* called asking the significance of *Lithostrotos*. (*Life* and the Answer Man called constantly: "This is the Answer Man. I have a question for you.") Having explained it, I asked what connection it had with *Life*, but she said she wasn't allowed to tell me. Very unsporting, I thought.

Some weeks later *Life* had an article by Evelyn Waugh on the Holy Places, and in it Waugh made some remark about the site of the *Lithostrotos* being confirmed by excavations. Feeling that Waugh would be amused, I wrote him a note about the *Life* conversation and received the following reply:

"Many thanks for your letter. I am so sorry that you should have been troubled on my account by *Life*'s young ladies. They can be great nuisances and won't believe any fact unless it is confirmed by a pundit in New York. If you value quiet you should take steps to get off their list of pundits as soon as you can."

Point Lookout, N.Y. JOSEPH T. MCINTYRE

Gavin on Peking

I have just had brought to my attention your publication of April 26 in which you say, "And Gen. James Gavin (ret.), former U.S. Ambassador to Paris, told an audience at Northeastern University that we should recognize Peking and prepare it a way to the UN." This is absolutely untrue. I did not recommend that we recognize Peking . . . The exact words taped were, "I think we should work along with getting them in the UN somewhere." I would like to emphasize again that I did not recommend recognizing Peking.

Cambridge, Mass. JAMES M. GAVIN

The distinction, applied to practical diplomatic realities, is slight. Pull up your socks, General. —*Ed.*

Fascists on the Right (cont.)

Reader Fielding Hobart [April 19] pinpoints a situation which has been a source of amazement and dismay to all of us who lived through the Nazi nightmare: the fact that American conservatives and Liberals alike—the former usually through ignorance, the latter

(Continued on following page)

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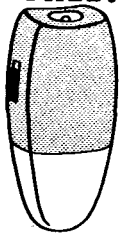

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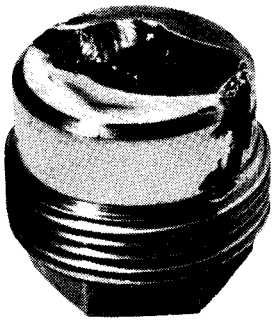
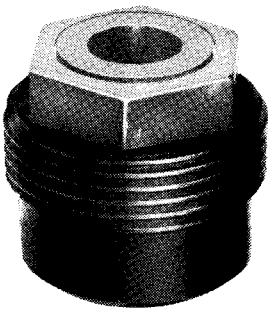


This valve part failed in five days



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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from preceding page)

most often deliberately — classify the Nazis as belonging to the political Right. This facilitated, among other things, acceptance of the "fascist" tag hung around Senator Goldwater's neck by his Liberal enemies in the 1964 campaign.

I would like to quote some prominent Nazis on the topic:

"We are neither national nor do we stand on the Right . . . national is a middle-class concept . . . on lease to the upper strata of property and education. . . . The National Socialists did place themselves on the Right, but that was only *tactic* . . . in reality and in accordance with the concept of the National Socialist Workers' Party, we are the German Left . . ." (*Niedersaechsische Tageszeitung*, Dec. 6, 1931).

Joseph Goebbels—who for a long time was strongly Communist—said in *Questions and Answers:*

"Yes, indeed, we do call ourselves 'Workers' Party'; that is the first step away from the bourgeois state. We call ourselves 'Socialist,' that is the second step, this time *against* the bourgeois state!"

New York, N.Y. HILDA SIMON

I did not see until now the letter from

(Continued on p. 487)

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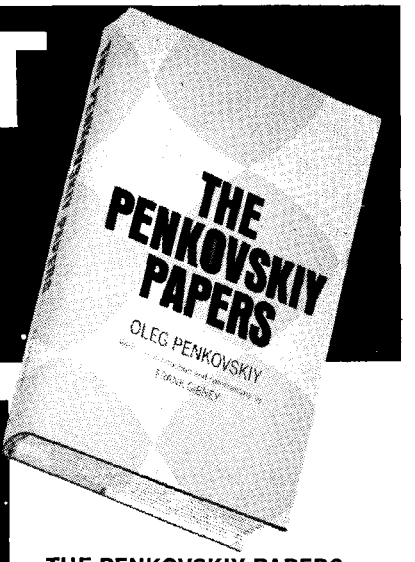

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The WEEK

● On May 4 the papers announced 1) that East European political and CP leaders will convene early in July to discuss, *inter alia,* the coordination of support for North Vietnam, and 2) that President Johnson said he would seek legislation to increase trade with Eastern Europe . . . the "bridges to the East" program in the interest of "peace." In which same interest, how about blowing up some bridges *in* the East?

● Congress will be acting soon on HR 8282, one of the three measures at the top of the labor bosses' "must" list. This bill would in effect federalize unemployment compensation benefits, and change the program from a type of modified insurance to an all-out relief handout system. Most states now limit unemployment benefits to 26 weeks; HR 8282 would provide federal unemployment benefits when the state dole ceased. It would also require all states to raise their maximum benefits to 66 2/3 per cent of wages previously earned, thus greatly diminishing the incentive to work. Some states now pay no benefits to unemployed workers who quit voluntarily without good cause, who are fired for wilful misconduct on the job, or who refuse suitable work while drawing unemployment compensation benefits. HR 8282 would not allow disqualification for those reasons. It is, actually, a legislative rendering of changes demanded by the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its February meeting last year. The House Ways and Means Committee has been holding executive hearings on the measure for a month, and is expected to report it soon—probably trimmed a good deal from the original proposal.

● The Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Company recently signed an agreement with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which the Commission hailed as a "model." This model binds the company to hire an "expert" who will be "suitable" to the Commission, to pay the expert's expenses, set him up with "adequate staff," and open up to him all records and information by which he may survey the jobs and pay of all employees. The "model" continues: "The expert shall report his findings to the Company and the Commission. The Company shall implement the decision of the expert by reclassifying such employees and/or adjusting the rate of pay accordingly within a period of 30 days from the date of determination." If this is a "model" to the Commission, then businessmen have much to fear from HR 10065, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, which was passed in the House on April 27 and is now before the Senate (see Cato). This Act would give statutory enforcement powers to the Commission and greatly expand its field of authority. Businessmen would almost entirely lose control of their personnel policies. Where's Dirksen?

● The New York City Charter vests jurisdiction over civilian appointments to the police review board in the police commissioner. Despite this, Mayor John Lindsay has named a panel of eleven men to recommend civilian candidates for appointment *by the Mayor* to a revamped review board. Considering that the quality of the understanding between Mayor Lindsay and Police Commissioner Howard Leary (a "reasonable" man, by the Mayor's own oath) virtually ensures the Mayor's getting the board he wants under any circumstances, his violation of the Charter seems an especially gratuitous affront to the people —all the people—of the city. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with seating civilians on a police review board, and we suppose there is a case of sorts to be made for trying to solve the problem of who'll guard the guards by proliferating and variegating the guards' guards. But when the Mayor does not scruple to insinuate City Hall into police business at the expense of the City Charter; when his nominating panel consists mostly of representatives of voting blocs, not of individually qualified experts; when it becomes apparent that the board of his vision is to be the creature of political manipulations and appeasements, clearly designed to satisfy his pledges to minority pressure groups—then let the Mayor at least have the civility to leave off pretending that the board he will put together is intended solely as an instrument of impartial justice.

● Three leaders of the National Student Association, a congenitally left-Liberal outfit which has resoundingly opposed Vietnam policy, spent two weeks in Saigon, Hué and Dalat, talked with 300 South Vietnamese students, and discovered 1) that none of them wants any part of peace negotiations with the Vietcong or the coalition government offered them by Robert Kennedy; 2) that they hoped, on the contrary, for a proudly nationalistic government to emerge from the coming elections; and 3) that those who were anti-American did not wish to remove the U. S. but only to limit its meddling in decisions they felt the Vietnamese should be making for themselves All of these findings, plus some others, will be issued to the membership at large on campuses throughout the nation, are expected to form the basis for "a broad reappraisal in the current student debate on the Vietnam war," and may we live to see the day.

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● The No. 1 Communist in Illinois is a slumlord and is a Negro. How's that for colliding *idées reçues*? Claude M. Lightfoot, a Communist Party member for 36 years, has been hit with 14 building code violations, among them overcrowding and disrepair plus "evidence of rats and roaches." Coincidentally, Lightfoot's verminous property stands in the same city, Chicago, where Martin Luther King recently began his "End the Slums" nuisance campaign. You can imagine what Lightfoot makes of the coincidence. It's nothing to what the city fathers have made of it.

● According to the UN view, Rhodesia has now proven she is a threat to the peace. On April 29 a band of men carrying weapons made in Russia and China, having stolen across the border from Zambia, were surrounded and "pacified" on Rhodesian soil, at the cost of seven dead among the infiltrators. Now the UN authorized the use of force against Rhodesia on the grounds that Rhodesia constitutes a threat to the peace, this because Rhodesia's existence makes other nations fretful, which might make other nations take aggressive action, which as Rhodesia defends herself would lead to bloodshed. Q.E.D. Now it is up to Britain and the U.S. to invade Rhodesia in order to maintain peace. You do understand?

● The Soviet Union had no Negroes to send to the World Festival of the Negro Arts in Dakar, Senegal, so they sent Yevgeni Yevtushenko, the poet, and he bombed. A Soviet cruise ship tied up in the harbor to dispense caviar and vodka, but the Italian liner next door got the dinner crowd. Harry Belafonte, an American, boycotted the Festival because the president of Senegal, Leopold Senghor, was soft on Rhodesia. Duke Ellington, an American and a musician, went and was a smash hit.

● Lines sung at a Teach-In For Peace at Harvard University: "Lost angels huddle on a night branch! The waves crossing and re-crossing beneath, the sound of the rampaging Missouri—bending the reeds again and again—something inside us like a ghost train in the Rockies about to be buried in snow! Its long hoot making the owl in the Douglas fir turn his head!" Fight fiercely, Harvard!

● Canada's Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson has emerged from the Gerda Munsinger rumble with a vote of confidence in his sex-and-security program. O Canada! O Politics! O Bedfellows!

Unfinished Business

No one can be sure, as of now, that the Dominican election will take place as scheduled next month; disorders provoked from one or both sides may compel its suspension. But we can be certain that, whether or not it takes place, and whoever is elected if it does, it will not solve the protracted political crisis. It will not, because President Johnson did not finish the job he began so resolutely a year ago; specifically, because he did not smash, or permit the Dominican army to smash, the military and political apparatus of the Communist parties.

Juan Bosch, the revolt's hysterical hero-in-absentia, returned when the shooting quieted down, and, after agonizing over "To run or not to run" for six months, accepted, to no one's surprise, the nomination of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD). But the PRD is not what she used to be. Its moderate elements were demoralized and in considerable part lost when its extremist wing took control in the aftermath of the revolt. The Communists, by recruitment and infiltration, are solidly implanted inside the PRD while their formal organizations are linked in the electoral united front supporting Bosch. The Peking-controlled Dominican Political Movement (MPD) and Moscow-controlled Dominican Communist Party (PCD) are being kept in the background but the Castroite June 14th Movement—its cadres expanded, trained and hardened over the past year, and well armed with the weapons they retained in scornful defiance of the Act of Reconciliation — is moving openly and aggressively.

In net result, Juan Bosch is the political captive of the Communists. He does not have a political base of his own large and powerful enough to operate independently of the Communists. Without them, he could not mount a major electoral campaign nor could he, if elected, govern.

Since the Army, the Right and much of the Center understand these political realities, it is unlikely that they would accept the election of Bosch, unless —and only so long as—they were forced to do so by the OAS (i.e., U.S.) troops. In fact, for them to accept a Bosch government under the given circumstances—a united front government, that is to say, in which the Communists would hold the whip hand—would be equivalent to political suicide. The policy of such a united front government would necessarily move toward the progressive liquidation of the Right, the regular officer corps and military cadres, and much of the business oligarchy. If, therefore, Bosch's opponents did accept his election initially, out of U.S. coercion or their own good will, a major clash might be postponed but could not be long avoided.

Analogously, the Communists cannot and in all probability Juan Bosch would not accept voluntarily the election of Joaquin Balaguer. Bosch would scream that it was a fraud; the Communists would take

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direct action to prevent a Balaguer government from consolidating effective power.

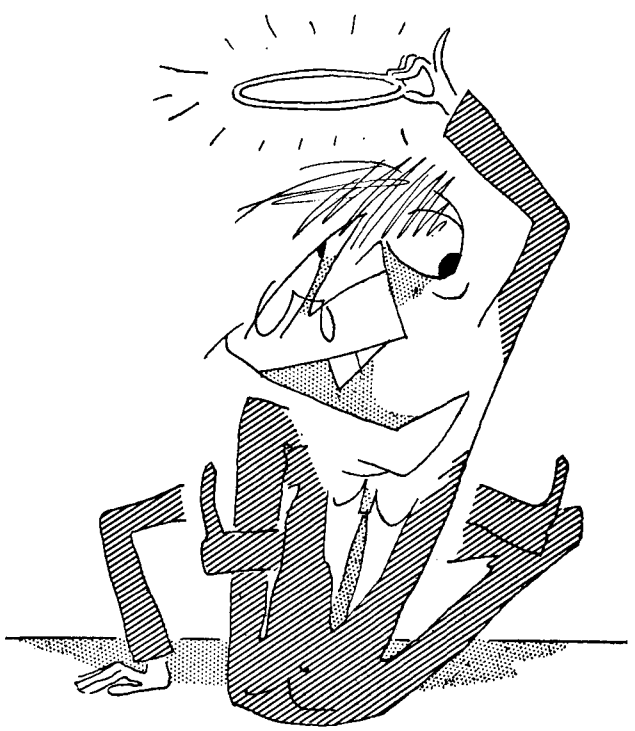
There is nothing mysterious in this untidy prospect. It is and will be the natural result of what has gone before. When a job is left unfinished, you can't close the books.

There's a War On

Then, there is also that election promised for late summer in South Vietnam. Can anyone really be so foolish as to imagine you could have a genuine democratic, honest election under such conditions as presently obtain in that unfortunate country? Who is eligible to vote? Every person in South Vietnam over 21 (one-man-one-vote)? Vietcong members? Visitors—how do you tell them apart—from North Vietnam? Everyone inside the Saigon battle lines? (But where are the battle lines?) Who will man the polls? Who will collect the ballot boxes in the mountains, the jungles, the Vietcong strongholds? How will candidates be named? Who is going to guarantee free public discussion and campaigning? Who will protect citizens against intimidation? Who will pay the costs?

The plan for an election is an obvious absurdity —except perhaps as a way to gain a little time in what had become an explosive political crisis. Either the election will not take place or it will be a farce.

An election—a genuine, honest election—cannot bring order and effective government to a country. A fair degree of order and some sort of effectively functioning sovereignty must exist *before* a country can stage a genuine election. Although there are other devices by which the Saigon government could be made more representative than at present of popular sentiment, a genuine election will not be possible until the Communists are defeated, or reduced to an insignificant and localized threat. Certainly there will never be a genuine election if the Communists win or are allowed to tie.



"How can belonging to thirty-five Front Groups make me subversive? *I'm just a crazy-mixed-up Humanitarian!"*

Therefore the prime problem continues to be fighting, how to fight and how to win. As for the fighting, it continues its creeping escalation. Within the past two weeks, air combat—with still unidentified planes and pilots flying from unidentified fields—has begun over North Vietnam, and strikes have been made against the sanctuaries the Vietcong has been using in Cambodia. The Air Force has announced the loss, in all, of more than 225 of our planes. Our expenditure is now at an annual rate of $30,000 per man in the enemy units. There's a war on.

1968 Already

Speculation on the 1968 Republican Presidential nomination is getting into second gear, with the names "Richard Nixon" and "George Romney" most often heard. Brand-name loyalty causes most conservatives to give Nixon a clear—if hesitant—edge, but Romney's lesser acceptability to conservatives might speedily evaporate in a well-designed campaign. Even now, Romney's Liberalism is more apparent than real and admits of the possibility of his being urged into more demonstrably conservative modes: he remains largely an unknown quantity, pragmatic and personally forceful, a non-ideologue, with whom the GOP professionals have never felt at ease. On the plus side for Romney is his freshness. He's comparatively new to the national scene, while Nixon has been around for some time; this can cut both ways, of course, but a national campaign might give Romney the push he needs to close the gap. Incidentally his appointment to fill the unexpired term of Senator Pat McNamara will put one grateful senator in Romney's debt.

If, as seems likely, the 1968 contest is to be mostly a warmup for 1972, interest may focus on the second slot, with the Vice Presidential candidate to rate as heir apparent for top of the 1972 ticket. (Senator Jacob Javits of New York, who has made no secret of his Vice Presidential ambition, is an exception: he simply wants bargaining power.) Who would make the ideal running-mate for, say, Romney? A Western conservative? (Senator John Tower of Texas? Governor William Avery of Kansas?) Or, if the Liberals are deemed to have captured the Presidential nomination, will they go for an across-the-

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Focus on WASHINGTON

◆ The civil rights movement faces its first congressional legislative defeat with President Johnson's call for a federal law banning housing discrimination. Unlike previous rights proposals, this one strikes not only at the South, but at housing practices prevalent throughout the nation. Civil rights leaders complain that the ban is not tough enough (it provides no administrative enforcement, and relies on the individual to take legal action), but Northern Democrats know that any housing ban will be unpopular at home. Already this year Congress has had to give local communities a veto on rent-supplement projects because of widespread fears that the program would be used to relocate Negroes in the suburbs. Significantly, the civil rights bill submitted earlier by House Republicans omitted any ban on housing discrimination, and Senator Dirksen has let the White House know he is opposed to such a provision. House Judiciary Chairman Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) fears a filibuster, and complains that the Administration "held it up too long and that's why it's going to be close." There are suggestions on Capitol Hill that the President knew his housing provision would be defeated in Congress, but hopes it will divert attention from the three other parts of his civil rights package and allow them to pass without hindrance. Then he could—if he wished—issue a stronger "fair housing" proposal, as many civil rights leaders have urged.

◆ Hardly noticed by the public, the House already has passed one civil rights measure this year. It voted 298-94 last month to give enforcement powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with only conciliatory power. House Republicans complained that the bill made the Commission both judge and prosecutor, much as the old NLRB before the Taft-Hartley Act. But their amendment to split the power between an investigator and the Commission failed, and most of them went on to vote for the Democratic bill. It is generally believed, however, that it will not pass the Senate.

◆ The Institute for Policy Studies is operating one of the Left's most successful influence mills by sponsoring seminars for congressional assistants. Last year, an assistant of ultra-Liberal William Fitts Ryan led a series of disarmament gabfests; this year an assistant to ultra-Liberal Henry Gonzalez is leading a similar series on housing. Last year's speakers included Bernard Fall, Seymour Melman and Jerome Weisner. This year's crop includes Leon Keyserling, Herbert Gans and Robert C. Wood of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. There is no equivalent group on the Right supplying congressional staffers with such heady doses of academic opinion, which is one more reason conservative programs make so little headway on the hill. (One Senate aide, who is on the mailing list of the Liberal Democratic Study Group, reports that their mailing plate was used to send him notices of the Institute's seminars, as well as literature from SNCC and the Vietnam Day Committee.)

◆ Liberal Republicans gave Lyndon Johnson's rent-supplement program its winning margin in the Senate late last month—just as Liberal Republicans had provided the winning votes earlier in the House. As in the House, the Administration left no arm unwrung in its effort to pass the controversial program. And as in the House, this was the first major floor test on curbing domestic spending this year. The five Republicans who gave the rent-supplement program its 46-45 Senate victory on April 27 were Jacob Javits (N.Y.), Clifford P. Case (N.J.), Hugh Scott (Pa.), George Aiken (Vt.) and Margaret Chase Smith (Maine). A Javits amendment to increase the funds from $12 million to $20 million was defeated 69 to 18, but now that the precedent has been established, HUD Secretary Robert Weaver already is planning to ask for an extension of rent supplements to families in the "lower middle income" category.

—CATO

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board push on second place as well? (Governor Mark Hatfield of Oregon? Governor Robert Smylie of Idaho?) Conversely, which names sound best with Nixon?

Other possibilities for Vice President, of every conceivable political hue: Congressman James Martin of Alabama if he beats Lurleen; Senator Thruston Morton of Kentucky; Governor John Love of Colorado; Senator George Murphy of California; and, last but by no means necessarily least, Attorney General (by then Senator?) Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, who seems to be getting more Liberal as he moves up, but may have evolved along quite different lines by 1968.

Cross and Sickle

Outwardly the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to the Vatican went off with all the blandness of formalistic diplomacy; not much attention, beyond routine reporting, was paid to it in this country. In Europe, however, most particularly in Italy, there has been and continues to be active, in some quarters anxious, discussion of its meaning.

It is generally believed in Italy that the soft paragraphs of Pope John's encyclical, *Pacem in Terris,* together with the Vatican visit of Khrushchev's son-in-law, Alexei Adzhubei, then editor of *Izvestia,* cost

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the Christian Democrats a million votes in the election held a fortnight after the encyclical's proclamation. Concomitantly, as James Burnham reported from Italy at the time (*NR*, May 21, 1963), the prestige of the Communist Party was massively boosted. There are many who think that the Gromyko visit will have a similar effect in the nationwide local elections that will take place in June. More generally, it is believed, Moscow's principal aim in Gromyko's mission was to open the doors to the Catholic masses still more widely for the Italian Communists—whose party, almost alone in the international movement, is given a serious chance to take governmental power by peaceful electoral means.

It was Italian Foreign Minister Amintore Fanfani who acted as intermediary in handling arrangements for the Gromyko visit, which thus brought Fanfani, who has been under something of a cloud since the episodes of the Hanoi visits and the *Borghese* interview last year, back into the spotlight. Politically, the effect is to refurbish his standing with the Left, which has denounced the pro-NATO position Fanfani has maintained against de Gaulle. Gromyko, however, was on his best diplomatic behavior; publicly, at any rate, he said nothing that could be interpreted as critical of official Italian foreign policy.

Most puzzling in connection with this visit, of course, and so far unfathomed, is the motive of the Vatican. The Communist visitor was not merely a tolerated but an invited guest; the fact that he was welcomed was made plain in the procedures followed and the language used—including an unusual and unnecessary mention in the official Vatican *Bolletino* that he had made a private visit to St. Peter's with his wife. There are those who guess that the possibility of some more general rapprochement is being tested. This hypothesis was strengthened by the perhaps only coincidental fact that on April 28-May 2, only a few days after the Gromyko visit, a rather large group of Catholic theologians and Marxist philosophers—including a professor who is a member of the central committee of the Italian Communist Party—met in Munich to discuss "Christian and Marxist Humanism."

Sargent Shriver Remains Unimpressed

The National Federation of Independent Business, with a membership of 212,000 small business enterprises, sends out a yearly in-depth questionnaire to its members. In 1964, 70,000 members filled in the forms and when the computers were through totting the figures and projecting them nationally, it was discovered that a million and a half small companies (employing an average of ten persons each) planned to plow $25 billion into expansion programs in 1965 that would provide an estimated 3.5 million new jobs.

Eureka, exclaimed someone at NFIB, and hustled over to the Poverty War shop to tell Sargent Shriver his troubles in finding employment for the unemployed were over. Ah ha, said Mr. Shriver, very interesting indeed. But how good is your information? And even if it is good, will all those firms carry out those plans or do they just think they will?

A year passed. The 1965 forms went out, were duly filled in and, what do you know?, nearly 3.5 million new jobs had indeed been created in 1965. Another visit to Sargent Shriver proved totally unproductive. Mr. Shriver wasn't a bit excited at the news. The trouble was, of course, that it is not cricket under the Great Society's Grand Strategy for the War on Poverty to create jobs by business expansion. The correct way to do the job is by the expenditure of tax monies in urbanly and rurally depressed and (preferably) heavily Democratic areas.

The NFIB, the brainchild of C. Wilson Harder, a businessman turned lobbyist, is convinced the crisis in employment caused by automation can be rendered relatively painless if small business (which today employs roughly 30 million people) were given a freer hand by government to expand. Its program calls, for instance, for "plow-back" legislation (to enable small firms to plow back into expansion programs 20 per cent of all earnings up to $30,000). Last year, and again this spring, it opposed repeal of 14(b) and is credited by Senator Dirksen with effective work in alerting businessmen all over the country to awareness of the Labor-Administration attack on right to work. It favors legislation to forbid industry-wide union bargaining in certain key industries. It believes labor should be made subject to the anti-trust laws. It opposes federal minimum wage laws on the ground, among others, that these tend to knock out industrial training programs that will fit unskilled laborers for better jobs. That's the only kind of job training the NFIB believes will work.

The organization puts all important questions to a vote of its membership and proceeds according to its decision. Periodically, a "Bulletin" is mailed to the members. Each Bulletin summarizes five pieces of legislation before the Congress, both pro and con. The individual member is asked to check "yes" or "no" and to put the Bulletin in the mail. One of 2,500 volunteer district chairmen then forwards one portion of the ballot to the businessman's state senator, a second copy goes to his congressman in Washington; a third to NFIB headquarters, also in Washington, where the total vote is calculated. The following Bulletin informs the individual member how he and his associates voted. (Sample of votes on important economic and labor issues in recent years: NFIB members opposed repeal of 14(b), 93 per cent; opposed industry-wide bargaining, 87 per cent; approved cuts in the poverty program during the war emergency, 86 per cent.) ➤

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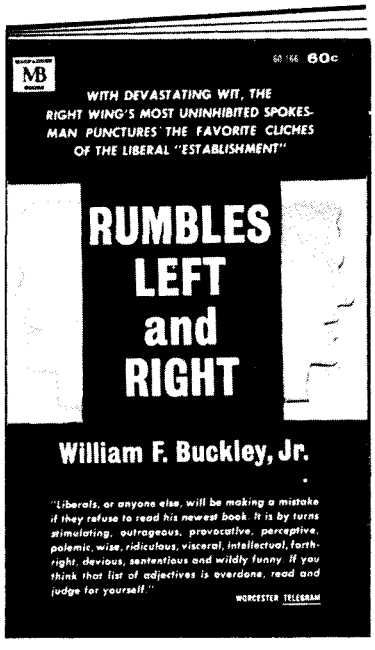
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IMPORTANT NOTE

IN RETURN FOR THIS DOUBLE SAVING, we will be happy to send you a free copy of Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s book, "Rumbles Left and Right." Just the thing to take along on that trip! It's our way of saying "Thank you" for the considerable amount you'll be saving us by using the card facing this page to renew your subscription today.

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All in all, one of the few effective lobbies fighting government elephantiasis, and a heartening indication that the majority of the 4.5 million small business firms in the United States are manned at the top by responsible economic conservatives.

Ralph McCabe, RIP

"I am getting out. Living becomes intolerable once the minimum conditions of a personal value system are not met, and it becomes decisive when the social conditions reflect that absence. Not to work is not to live—and I cannot adjust myself to the business of tending a gas pump, not after a lifetime spent in acquiring an education that suddenly becomes useless in a mindless society. The big things that I have attempted are years ahead of their time—if, indeed, they have a 'time.' The little things are of little account, finger exercises. And, as I am about to pour my life down the drain—where I hope and request that my ashes go—there is little to say. . ."

The letter came in the mail, a fortnight ago. It was written, we subsequently learned, very early in the morning, along with a few others which were neatly left on an ironing board in the cellar of the house with instructions for their disposition. And then Ralph McCabe ended his life, at 56.

He was known to NATIONAL REVIEW's readers as "Pyrrho," a sobriquet we gave him in 1956 when he told us that he could write, but that his identity would have to be concealed, because he worked for the government, in sensitive agencies, where his reactionary associations, if known, would have got him into more difficulties than he was already in. And he was already in a great many, in part because his astonishing personal brilliance made it hard to synchronize effectively with any bureaucratic mechanism; in part because he was outspokenly impatient of the flatulent ideological myths that sustain the dominant members of the intellectual bureaucracy. McCabe was always fencing with his associates. *"What I have missed most,"* he observed in his suicide note, *"and have found only on a few occasions, is free discussion. Nowadays, that term is abused by its use to refer to the 'rights' of savages like the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley. In civilized contexts, nothing is more absent than free discussion. The decay of the dialectic suggests the decay of the only real pleasure of the mind—Montaigne missed his interlocutor. My own life has been tolerable because of a few, who have tolerated me, in a world in which my kind is intolerable."*

He had, as readers of this journal know, a very great deal to contribute in a free discussion. An extraordinary grasp of history, of finance, of social movements. After the war he worked as consultant for the financial division of the High Commissioner's office in Germany, and was greatly influential in effecting the currency reform that saved post-war Germany. He wrote a memorandum on Korea which provided the thought for the extraordinary congressional publication "Relief and Rehabilitation in Korea," issued by the Government Operations Committee. He went from agency to agency, touching base in the State Department, the Operations Research Office of the Army—wrestling with the big-thinkers, returning at night to conduct his copious, heuristic, and warm correspondence with his friends.

"There has never been a better world—to leave. I sometimes wonder how anyone survives when no honorable man, in the traditional sense, could live in such a moral sewer. It may be that they do go on, for the joy of the fight. And I would, if I had any chance at all. I hope things improve rather than otherwise. And I leave without a hostile thought about any person, and only love for those who have put up with me for so long and to whom I have been such a burden." We grieve for Ralph McCabe as his friends, we reject his conclusion that life is intolerable, and especially reject his contention that he did not contribute to making it tolerable, for his friends, for his disciples, and for all those who profited from his wisdom and integrity.

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ON THE RIGHT

Platform, Anyone?

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Republican Party, everywhere you go, is wondering just what to run on this coming fall. In Colorado, for instance, the Young Republicans met one month ago, and Governor John Love addressed them, and after it was all over the question teased them all: what, exactly, to run on.

Buckley

Representative Gerald Ford suggested an approach last week when he criticized Defense Secretary McNamara for failing to exercise logistical foresight sufficient to sustain our expeditionary forces in South Vietnam. Mr. McNamara countered, with computer-like speed, by giving, as one would expect, the pound-per-man-per-inch-per-demi-semi-quaver-per whatever being shipped to Vietnam—leaving his critics, as usual, in statistical disarray. My guess is that Mr. McNamara will win the argument against Representative Ford well before it has the chance of becoming a national issue. Not that McNamara hasn't made mistakes or shouldn't be chastened for his superstitious reliance on the god of the computer. But by next November, the chances are that Mr. McNamara, who is a ruthlessly efficient gentleman, will have seen to it that our forces in South Vietnam have the necessary bombs and PX supplies and whatever to exert their maximum military influence.

As regards domestic issues, the Republican Party is once again in considerable disarray. Some Republicans took the defeat of Senator Goldwater, in my judgment mistakenly, as final repudiation of the traditional Republican resistance to the growth of the welfare state. Thus there is considerable reluctance by the Republican community at large to attack federal programs to insure older people against illness and hospitalization, federal programs to attack poverty, to aid education, and the rest of it.

Not enough attention has been given by the Republican leadership to the sorry fate of the Conservative Party of Great Britain six weeks ago, which sought to oppose the Labor Party by asserting a kind of Tory radicalism which ended up leaving the voters quite cold. The defeat of the Conservative Party was both conclusive and, for English conservatives, utterly unsatisfying, inasmuch as they were not even left with the gratification of having given the voting community any bracing alternatives to the platforms of the Labor Party. On the contrary, in some respects the leaders seemed to be attempting to overreach the socialists in promising a softer-than-ever life, free of challenge to individual or corporate greatness. England has become a sort of pleasure spa, undistracted by the major problems of life, contented to ease into a new historical role as a little Sweden.

England, casting off a millennium's responsibility as a crucial power, may be entitled to surcease. The United States is not, and it may be that the Republican Party should intuit that fact, even as the party of Winston Churchill did during the thirties, and endeavor, even at a tactical risk of a loss of votes, to recall the United States citizenry to greatness.

In preparation for the greater contest of 1968, here is what Republican leaders might say during the election campaign of 1966:

The war in Vietnam, enormous though it appears at the moment, is over the long term nothing more than a tactical distraction. The long term has to do with Red China. As regards Red China, we should a) do our best to weaken it by tough economic embargoes, particularly of foodstuffs. The United States should buy up the surplus free world wheat supply, and make it available to Red China, and indeed to the Soviet Union, only in return for concrete concessions, for instance the termination of pressures against South Vietnam and other free or semi-free areas. B) Japan should be given a deterrent repeat deterrent nuclear arsenal so as to assure a balance of nuclear power in the area which will not depend on United States intercontinental missiles.

C) Domestically, a commission should be appointed to examine unnecessary federal welfarist programs and to recommend their gradual elimination. For instance, the Rural Electrification Agency; the Interstate Commerce Commission; and much of the Agricultural Administration Agency, to name just a few. D) A commission should be established to program a gradual dissolution not only of the above agencies, but of the tissue of laws that grant such immunities to labor unions as distort economic life and impinge so gravely on individual freedom. And e), ultimately a resolution by Congress should be passed to the effect that future welfare benefits, outside of social security, should be limited to those states of the union whose average income is below the national average.

Such programs as these, radical though they sound, could invigorate the Republican Party as a party of creative opposition to the Democratic Party, which is caught up in dreary commitments to pressure groups and ad hoc crises, looking no further than to the next election. The GOP will lose the next Presidential election, and perhaps the one after; but there will, hopefully, be one after that, towards which a party of opposition, seeking to reclaim the American dream, should look with confidence and hope and exuberance.

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Philosophy

Is Time Dead?

SPINOZA MINOR

It is a question which tantalizes both the physicists who feel that possibly it is true, and the public who fear that the answer is no.

Is Time Dead? A small group of radical thinkers of the school of F. Scott Fitzgerald, inspired by his *Great Gatsby,* held that Time has been on our hands too long and should be done away with. That most revolutionary fellow, Euripides, wrote: "Time is a babbler and speaks even when not asked." This has disturbed the more traditional scholars who, unblushingly in their reactionary mood, say with Plutarch: "Trust to Time; it is the wisest of all counselors."

It is not just from one area of human knowledge, but from its vast compass that one hears the thunder: "Time is Dead." The institutional strength of the scientist-academics attacks the antiquated idea that Time can stand alone. Since Einstein, Time is now inseparably bound up with Space. Combining the one dimension of Time to the three dimensions of Space, one has a four-dimensional universe of Space-Time. To go back to Time isolated from Space would be to destroy the secular universe by refusing to accommodate it to the latest deliverances of relativity. A well known director of one of the government's programs is certain: "Today we are interested in Space ships. Who ever heard of a Time ship?" Immanuel Kant, who studied this problem for years, went further: "Neither Time Nor Space exist in reality; they cannot exist outside the human mind."

Plenty of scientists are confused. Pollster Trot found that 90 per cent agree that "Time is Dead," but refuse to take the childish notion of Kant that Space too does not exist. A teen-ager reflects the growing doubt: "Nothing puzzles me more than Time and Space, and yet nothing puzzles me less, for I never think about them." Jesuit Chronos, living up to his name, comes to the defense of Time: "We are unfair to God. We do not give Him Time."

In the field of theology, the advanced thinkers who believe that "Time is Dead" ignore the other Gospels as spurious, and concentrate on the third. One of their learned professors described it as the "Gospel of Time." Working with an IBM Computer, he reckoned that the author used the word "Time" in over 30 instances; added to these is the historical description at the beginning of the Gospel, locating it at a fixed moment in the history of the Roman Empire. From the evidence, he concluded that St. Luce, the author of the Third Gospel, "must have gone around with a watch in his hand." A learned Jesuit theologian, fearing that, because of its antiquated and unmodern use of Time, the Gospel might be pronounced dead, reflected: "What does he want us to do—sleep on a three-cornered bed?"

St. Luce

A street-walker in Tel Aviv: "If Mary Magdalene could be written up in the Time of St. Luce, why cannot I in the Time of Lucius?" The Dean of St. Luce's Church in Hyde Park: "I once believed in St. Luce because of Time; now I do not believe in Time, but I hold on to St. Luce because of its survival-value." Taking a contrary position, a distinguished Jesuit rector quoted another well known European Jesuit theologian, Timothy: "Time will not listen to sound doctrine."

A Greek janitor: "I love the Nominalists who say that it is not Time that is Dead, but the name 'Time' which is dead." Playwright A. E. Ternal muses: "Time is a myth. How many days of the week are named after gods and myths, such as Thor and Saturn; the months of the year are even more mythological, such as June, July and August. The Greeks had a god called Time. How unmodern and unadapted to the twentieth century can one be?" A second year high school student: "Science can no longer measure intervals in terms of gods and myths." A learned Jesuit theologian: "Bultmann had de-mythologized Time; I suggest that it be taken out of circulation."

"Time," says Professor Day, "is indeed a myth and a fiction, for only cuckoos keep Time." But he comes forward with the new theory of "Timeless-Time": "If we can have 'Christian Atheists,' then why not 'Timeless-Time' and 'Spaceless-Space'?"

A Berkeley housewife on being asked about Time being Dead because mythological in origin, asked: "What then will we call the stuff between paydays?" In the same vein, a learned Jesuit theologian asked: "What is so terrible about using the names of mythological deities, if they can serve us? I drive a Mercury."

In recent years a group of philosophers, mostly English, Braithwaite, Hare, Flew and Miles, have become specialists in what is called "Literary Analysis." Their basic principle is to deny the factual character of any sentence which has the word "Time" in it, *e.g.* "Time says." As Hare explains, as quick as a bunny, "Such utterance is an expression of Blik," i.e. an orientation, a subjective point of view, a peculiar way of looking at reality. True, there have been philosophers who reject this Blik school such as Farrer, deBurgh and Trethowan. When the American group was asked if they had read these critics of Literary Analysis, they answered in the words of a learned Jesuit theologian, "We are too Blik to think about Blik." A well-known Jesuit theologian of Europe refuses to admit that the name "Time" is dead, and refers to nothing objective. Quoting Dante he reflected: "It is the wisest of men who grieve most at the passing of Time." Using faulty English, he resorted to Latin saying that it was fitting *"Servire Temporibus."* (To be a Slave of Time.)*

It is not only the secular and humanist scholars who most deny the right of Time to exist, but even the religious group who use the kerygma of Scripture to deny its existence: "There will be no more Time."

In one of the major seminaries of

*Some scholars translate this as "subscribe to Time."

(Continued on page 487)

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The Third World War

JAMES BURNHAM

It's Your Ball, Chum

Les Baux

On the outskirts of the small Provençal town of Draguignan, about half a mile from the shimmering six-laned alley of ancient plane trees *(Allées d'Azémar)* that is its heart, there is an American military cemetery where eight hundred of the ten thousand soldiers who dropped out of the sun-dazzled sky early one August morning in 1944 are buried. Even in this off-track district, it is, like all our military cemeteries, wonderfully cared for, and — except for one of those banal great statues that seem to be a universal curse visited on this century's dead soldiers —in admirable taste. Within the oval frame of a grey stone wall, the perfectly white crosses, varied here and there by the star of David, are a compelling pattern against the dark-green, fine, weedless grass.

Burnham

In a small building at the entrance there is a visitors' book on a table overlooked by benign portraits of Dwight Eisenhower and General Marshall. We leafed through it and, to our surprise, found only an occasional American name and address. The recorded visitors were mostly French, many from Draguignan itself or nearby towns, but others from all parts of France. (Couples seldom signed, we noted, with the "M. et Mme. Dupont" usual in such ledgers, but as "Jacques Dupont" and "Jeanne Dupont.") In recent months—though these were the lowest season for such tourism as touches Draguignan—there seemed to have been both an increasing number of visitors in all as well as an increasing percentage of French.

Is it possible, we considered that evening, that this was a delicate French sort of way in which M. and Mme. Dupont were letting us know that they did not share the Power's bitterness against the Americans, whose brothers' and fathers' blood mingled with French blood in the soil of every region of France? So far as direct experience goes, French anti-Americanism seems a matter of the national surface, manifest in the intellectuals, politicians and higher officials. Dr. Niguet's mysterious and earnest reply, when Marcia, from the defenseless depths of his dental chair set in the middle of a gardened, eighteenth-century villa, asked him about the so-much-publicized anti-Americanism, was: "*He* is the only one *(Lui seul)* who feels that way, believe me, Madame. . . . It is only *His* doing." Dr. Niguet specified no name for "He" and "Him," but the young French businessman on the Air France plane, giving the same answer to the same question, came right out with it, smiling.

De Gaulle Yes, Gaullism No?

I don't by any means wish to suggest—on the basis of my eccentric sampling—that "French opinion" is "against deGaulle." The Assembly members wouldn't have given him so big a confidence vote last month if they weren't sure their constituents are still pro-deGaulle, or at any rate more pro-deGaulle than pro-anyone else. But we may legitimately wonder what being "pro-deGaulle" means in the minds and feelings of the average French citizen — farmer, worker, housewife, businessman, professional. It does *not* mean, by any evidence I can gather, that he is an informed and ardent supporter of those vast policies—concerning NATO, nuclear arms, Peking, Washington and Moscow—by which the outside world knows and defines Gaullism. My impression is that most Frenchmen are vastly uninterested in such matters, and happy to let deGaulle play his *haute politique*—so long as he doesn't ask them to join.

After all, deGaulle's regime began by cutting France loose from the Algerian mess and from the remains of empire; it continued by drawing back from United Europe and breaking from Anglo-Saxon NATO. As the average Frenchman naturally sees it, Gaullism, for all its rhetoric of glory and grandeur, appears as a shedding of global responsibilities, a relaxing isolationism accompanied by a thoroughly bourgeois spirit of eat well, drive a new car—*enrichissez-vous.*

Let's Eat

In the French economy, and in the French culture as it is really lived, food—its production, sale, preparation and eating—is prime. De Gaulle is always solicitous of the citizens—a much higher proportion than in this country—who are actively concerned with food. He blocked the Common Market development in order to protect French farm prices; his first big fight with Washington was over imports of cheap, mass-produced U.S. chickens; he sells surplus French wheat at a good price to the East Europeans whom he flatters. (And, after having just worshipped at the two holiest sanctuaries in the south of France—the inn below the fantastic rock from which the passionate seigneurs of Les Baux long ruled much of Provence one night, and, next evening, the little Auberge of Noves, between the Durance and the twin towers of Chateaurenard—I can guess how final a witness for de Gaulle it is that he is reported to serve the best of all cuisines at his Presidential banquets.)

Are not the French, and the other West Europeans, too, in their own national ways, really saying, we have done our part long enough and we now retire to the sidelines? The only way we could continue to play would be by uniting our resources into a force of the same order as the great fresh players—America, the Soviet Union and (just coming on the field) China. But after the two wars in which we tore each other to pieces, we don't seem to have the strength or the will left for that. So we'll take shelter under the umbrella raised by the balance of terror, use our centuries-trained wiles to play off the giants against each other, and cultivate our rich and lovely garden.

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Letter from Jakarta

Students Boot Out the Communists

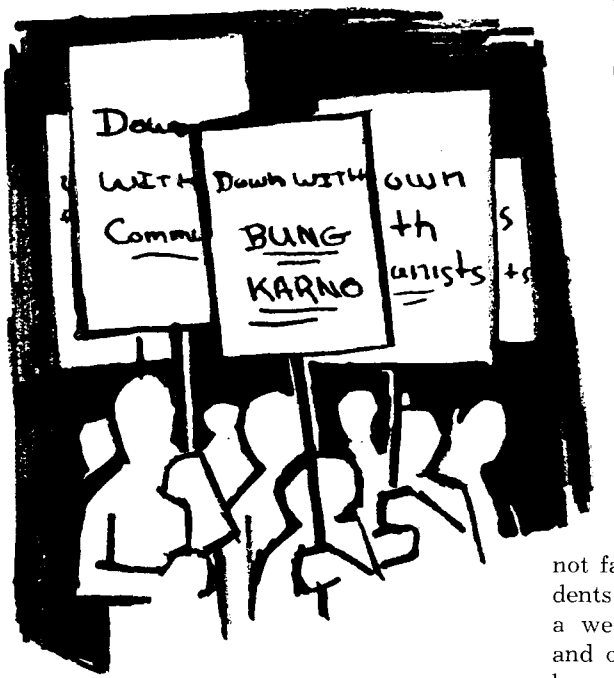
HENRY C. ATYEO

Bangkok, March 19. I arrived in Jakarta several days ago when the student demonstrations that were to topple Sukarno from power were at their peak. It was impossible, and unsafe, to get a hotel. All of us on the incoming flight flew immediately to the island of Bali, but I returned a few days later. It was evening and the city was quiet, but tense, with a strange silence outside because of the complete army-enforced curfew. I didn't think it wise to mail this dispatch from Indonesia, but waited until I reached Bangkok.

While I was in Jakarta the Army, backed by student demonstrators, had just forced the government to ban the PKI (Communist Party). There were joyous demonstrations in the streets. Early in the morning, thousands of students were on the march, using trucks, buses, carts, bicycles and every known hitch-a-ride conveyance. Activity centered around the Sejanan Sports Hall which was jam-packed with spectators that day waiting for a spectacle. An Army colonel urged the students to remain calm. "Every great struggle will obtain God's blessing," he told them, "and every righteous struggle will achieve final victory." When he jumped into his jeep and rode off after a brief talk, the students were disappointed, the *Armed Forces Daily Mail* reported, because "they felt he spoke too briefly"—which makes these a very special kind of students indeed. And indeed, they are. In so many countries student activities are controlled, or manipulated by the Communists or the very far Left. The Indonesian students are anti-Communists and showed during the disturbances of the late winter and early spring that they were well enough organized and in close enough touch with the Army to topple a cabinet and outlaw a party.

The crisis really began on February 21 when President Sukarno announced a new cabinet which included prominent Communist members. The streets filled with student demonstrators, with rallies and parades continuing nearly every day for three weeks. Retaliation by Sukarno sparked increased activity and open defiance to dictatorial authority. Tension and revolt reached a climax when a massed mob of students outside Sukarno's gleaming new white Merdeka (Freedom) Palace led to an official order to fire into the student ranks. The guards killed at least seven students before the mob was dispersed.

These deaths added a somber note to later demonstrations. Some 10,000 high school and college students joined in a protest march of mourning in downtown Jakarta where Husmi Thomrin, chairman of the High School Student Action Command, addressed the assembly. "The dissolution of the Communist Party," he said, "did not come as a gift on a platter" but as a "result of sacrifices made by the students." Only the first step toward freedom had been taken, he warned, and said that continued vigilance was necessary against "political guerrilla warfare."



As a result of student pressures Sukarno closed the University of Indonesia and banned student groups, which compose, at the university level, the KAMI (University Student Action Command), and in the secondary schools the KAPPI (High School Students Action Command). The students had three basic demands: 1) the banning of the Indonesian Communist Party by presidential decree; 2) the purging the Cabinet of Gestapu (Communist) elements, and 3) lowering the price of commodities.

The first two aims have been accomplished, at least temporarily, and the third, a long-range program, is difficult in any economy. The dramatic move to eliminate Communist power came when, on Sunday, March 13, Sukarno yielded to the mounting student and military power. The event was described by the *Sunday Times* (Malaysian Edition) under a banner headline as "Total surrender—a final ultimatum from the generals; troops surge in; then Bung Karno [Sukarno] signs away everything except his worthless title; the words "Total Surrender" covered the top of the page while somewhat smaller print emphasized his "worthless title."

Almost immediately after the presidential decree officially banning the PKI, came the invitation to Suharto and Nasution to assume power. It is reported (UPI) that Sukarno was standing amid the rubble of the Foreign Ministry when he asked Suharto to "bring the situation under control." Sukarno could not fail to know that it was the students who had destroyed the Ministry a week earlier, first by invading it and occupying it for ten hours, then by systematically ransacking it and carrying away important papers. Sukarno also knew that the attack on the Ministry and, at the same time, on the Red Chinese Consular Trade Affairs office, was made in a serious, determined effort to bring reform. At the moment it looks as if the students have won the battle against Sukarno; whether their alliance with the Army will last remains to be seen.

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LINUS PAULING TAKES THE STAND

What follows in the ensuing pages is a highly truncated account of some of the proceedings in the libel suit brought by Dr. Linus Pauling against NATIONAL REVIEW, *together with excerpts from some of the relevant documents, and commentary.*

I. The First Editorial

The following editorial, reproduced here in its entirety, is from the July 17, 1962 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. It is the editorial that provoked Dr. Pauling.

The Collaborators

What are we going to do about those of our fellow citizens who persist in a course of collaboration with the enemy who has sworn to bury us? This question arises once again from the circumstances of the attempted flight of the convicted Soviet spy, Dr. Robert Soblen. Soblen was free to run off because $100,000 had been posted for him while his case was going through final appeal procedures. Sixty thousand of these dollars were supplied by Mrs. Helen Lehman Buttenweiser, a prominent lawyer, niece of ex-Senator Herbert Lehman and wife of Benjamin J. Buttenweiser, a partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and former chief deputy to John J. McCloy in the West German occupation regime. (She had been approached, she said, by George G. Kirstein, publisher of the *Nation*, who promised to reimburse her for half the amount. The current issue of his magazine features a lengthy smear of "The Ultras.")

Mrs. Buttenweiser was breaking no law in providing the bail money, but it is nevertheless impossible not to notice whom it is she has long done such favors for. Not, by any record we have seen, for Tom, Dick and Harry. But today for the convicted spy, Soblen. Yesterday for Alger Hiss, whose great friend, patron, defender and hostess she has been before, during and after *his* conviction; only a few months ago, in fact, she was representing Hiss in the attempt to reopen the case via the preposterous fairy tale about the FBI's having framed him by faking the famous Woodstock typewriter. Or, as another example, for the Communist agitators, Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, on whose behalf she initiated a petition for pardon after their conviction for contempt of Congress.

Take, second, Professor Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology, once more acting as megaphone for Soviet policy by touting the World Peace Conference that the Communists have called for this summer in Moscow, just as year after year since time immemorial he has given his name, energy, voice and pen to one after another Soviet-serving enterprise. Or the late Professor C. Wright Mills of Columbia, who made himself the chief U.S. apologist for Fidel Castro, both before and after Castro's Communism became publicly established, and who wrote an entire book to denounce his country as the international warmonger. Or Professor Frederick V. Schuman of Williams and Professors Thomas I. Emerson and Fowler V. Harper of Yale, who a couple of months ago, along with Linus Pauling and a dozen others, attached their signatures to one more in a decades-long series of Communist-aiding fronts: this time, an Open Letter not only calling for the liquidation of South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem but condemning the presence of American personnel in that country as imperialist aggression (hence, by implication, more than justifying the Vietcong for killing Americans).

After Four Weeks

THE COURT (*wearily*): If the jury should happen to hear both sides say they rest, remember it's April 1st.

Are such persons Communists? Some such undoubtedly are, but there is not publicly at hand the full proof, of the kind demanded by the courts, that they are Communists in the total, deliberate, disciplined organizational sense. But whether they are Communists or not in the legal sense, the objective fact is that these persons we have named, and many others like them, have given aid and comfort to the enemies of this country. They have done so not once or twice, by what might have been a special impulse, quirk or personal attachment, but time and again, over a period of years and decades; and some of these acts are saved from falling under the constitutional definition of treason only by the historical chance that our government has not yet decided to give direct legal recognition to the fact that our present enemies are our enemies, and that we are at war.

So we repeat: what are we going to do about these people? If it is proper that for the time being they should be immune from legal sanction, does it also follow that they should continue to receive public respect, honor and rewards? Those whom we have named are not obscure or humble citizens. They occupy high posts in the community; they have comfortable incomes; they teach our youth from Chairs in some of the nation's most noted institutions of learning; they lecture across the land to all sorts of audiences, and their words are reproduced in scores of journals; they are granted the facilities of our great TV and radio networks; they are welcomed in respectable public organizations and private houses; and by much of our press their brazen collaboration is treated with indulgent sympathy. ("The rest [of the bail money] was lent to Soblen's wife by two wealthy New Yorkers who cared about civil liberties," smiled the *New York Times* wanly, with a tear in its eye.)

This soft and complacent public attitude toward the collaborators amounts, at bottom, to a general collusion in the sabotage of the nation's will, and in the moral nihilism that their actions express. If our standards have so far dissolved that there is no longer anyone on whom we will turn our backs, then we as a people are ready for suicide. (Ps 25)

II. Dr. Pauling Sues

On August 23, 1962, Michael Levi Matar, representing Dr. Pauling, wrote to NATIONAL REVIEW announcing that it was Dr. Pauling's intention to sue by reason of the "vicious libel published about him" in the editorial, "The Collaborators." In behalf of NATIONAL REVIEW, William A. Rusher replied that NATIONAL REVIEW would be glad to correct any factual inac-

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curacies that Mr. Matar might bring to the attention of *NR*. Mr. Matar did not reply.

In its September 25, 1962 issue, NATIONAL REVIEW published a second editorial, reproduced here in its entirety:

Are You Being Sued by Linus Pauling?

We are (or so his lawyer tells us). And so are other well-behaved papers and people throughout the country. Professor Pauling, whose litigious goosepimples appear, judging from newspaper accounts, to coincide with last June's three and one-half million dollar judgment against AWARE *et al.* in favor of the plaintiff Faulk, seems to be spending his time equally between pressing for a collaborationist foreign policy, and assailing those who oppose his views and who question whether this country can simultaneously follow Dr. Pauling's recommendations and remain outside the Communist orbit. Dr. Pauling, for instance, threatened to sue *This Week* Magazine because it had run an article calling Dr. Pauling a unilateralist. I am no such thing, Dr. Pauling shot back, brandishing his lawyers. *This Week* published his letter, together with a half-hearted apology by Dr. Muller, who had made the original charge, pointing out that if Dr. Pauling was not a unilateralist, he certainly confused people by picketing the White House when the U.S. resumed nuclear testing in direct consequence of the Soviets' having done so.

As we understand the term, a "unilateralist" is anyone who believes that one side should take whatever step is currently in question in the direction of a) disarming, or b) declining to augment, or refine, its arsenal, whether or not the other side takes the complementary step. If we follow him correctly, Dr. Pauling wants both the U.S. and the Soviet Union to stop testing nuclear weapons; but he would favor the U.S.'s stopping even if the Soviet Union did not. From which it follows, according to our definition (which is, we assume, generally accepted), that he is a unilateralist.

Dr. Pauling is chasing after all kinds of people, even the formidable Sam Newhouse, owner of twenty-odd daily newspapers. His victory signal is the check or two he has wrested from publishers—who may indeed have libeled him, in which case they should pay up; but who may simply have been too pusillanimous to fight back against what some will view as brazen attempts at intimidation of the free press by one of the nation's leading fellow travelers. (Px 24)

III. Dr. Pauling's Complaint

On January 17, 1963, Linus Pauling filed suit against NATIONAL REVIEW, asking damages of $500,000 for the first editorial, and damages of $500,000 for the second editorial.

The complaint charged that the defendants did "recklessly, wrongfully and maliciously intending to injure, stigmatize and destroy the good name, fame and reputation of the plaintiff, and wrongfully, wantonly and maliciously intending to hurt, injure and damage the plaintiff, and to expose and in fact exposing, the plaintiff to public scandal, hatred, contempt, infamy, obloquy, ill repute, disgrace and serious financial injury, and holding him up as an object of contempt, scorn, ridicule, derision and aversion among his friends, acquaintances, colleagues, neighbors, associates and the public at large, and to deprive him of the companionship and friendship of respectable persons, [and] did wrongfully and maliciously circulate, distribute, publish or cause to be published [the alleged libel]."

". . . That by reason of the said maliciously false publication, plaintiff has been greatly injured in his good name, fame, reputation, and credit; shunned and avoided by members of his community and others throughout this country and elsewhere; held up to public scorn, hatred, disgrace, ridicule, shame, scandal, contempt, dishonor and discredit, both as a man and in his profession as a world-famous renowned scientist; that the aforesaid false and malicious publication caused great mental anxiety and suffering to the plaintiff and greatly affected the plaintiff's ability to earn a livelihood for himself and his family. . . ."

IV. NR Pleads a) Truth b) Absence of Malice

NATIONAL REVIEW denied the charges, and pleaded that its editorials were "true and published without malice." A. As regards the matter of truth, NATIONAL REVIEW listed, as its grounds of information and belief, a number of "Soviet-serving activities and Communist-aiding fronts" to which Pauling allegedly had given his name or his support according to various sources: 1) From the House Committee on Un-American Activities 1950 report on a so-called Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace.

- Regional and Science Chairman and Sponsor of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions
- Member and Director of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
- Sponsor of the New York Scientific and Cultural Conference
- Active advocate of Henry Wallace for President
- Member of the Progressive Citizens of America
- Miscellaneous activities in support of the Communist Party for Young Communist League
- Signer of the protest by American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born against the deportation of Hans Eisler, now a leading official of the East German puppet government
- Sponsor and Member of the Committee for Free Political Advocacy
- Signer of a letter in defense of Communist Party leaders
- Signer of a petition for President Truman to meet with Stalin
- Sponsor of the World Peace Conference

From the House Committee on Un-American Activities 1951 "Report on the Communist Peace Offensive—A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States."

- Sponsor of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace
- Sponsor for the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
- Speaker at the American Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City
- Sponsor for the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact
- Signer of a protest against the American Arms Program of 1949
- Signer of a statement in favor of the Soviet proposal on atomic weapons
- Signer of a protest against the United States policy in Korea
- Speaker at the San Francisco Conference for Peace
- Voucher for Dr. Sidney Weinbaum charged with perjury and fraud in failing to disclose his Communist Party membership under an alias while he served as physicist at California Institute of Technology
- Signer of statements on behalf of eleven (11) convicted Communist leaders, published in the "Daily Worker" February 28 and October 30, 1949, and "Daily People's World"

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—June 15, 1949 and April 18, 1950

Speaker before the Pasadena Conference on Human Rights favorable to the Communist Party

Signer of statements in favor of attorneys representing the eleven (11) Communist leaders, and convicted of contempt of court

Signer of Brief submitted to the United States Supreme Court on behalf of Lawson and Trumbo, convicted for contempt of Congress in connection with investigation of Hollywood Communism

Signer of statement on behalf of Hollywood "Ten" issued by a Committee of One Thousand

Signer of a petition to Attorney General on behalf of Hans Eisler, deported Communist

Sponsor for the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born

Member of the Board of Directors, Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

Signer of statement issued by National Council of American - Soviet Friendship

Signer of petition entitled "Bring Our Boys Home From Korea — Make Peace With China Now"

Sponsor of The Call to Mid-Century Conference for Peace and member of Program Committee for same

Prospective American sponsor of American Continental Congress for Peace

Vice-chairman of Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact

Listings from various and sundry public sources and other reports.

Initiator of National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act

Vice-President — American Association for Scientific Workers (cited as affiliate of Cominform-controlled front)

Signer of open letter to President Truman protesting jailing of Abner Green

Member of National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell

Signer of statement in defense of eleven (11) convicted Communist Party leaders under auspices of Committee for a Free Political Advocacy

Signer of Brief on behalf of Communist Party before United States Supreme Court in action brought by Subversive Activities Control Board

Sponsor of Conference of Inquiry into the Facts of the Rosenberg Case

Plaintiff in an action to enjoin Atomic Energy Commission from conducting nuclear weapons test

Vice-chairman of National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

2) NATIONAL REVIEW pointed out that Mr. Burnham and Mr. Buckley, and Mr. Rusher to a lesser extent, had studied Dr. Pauling's career. *NR* also had freshly in mind the report by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Dr. Linus Pauling, published shortly before the writing of the first editorial. Among the conclusions reached by the Committee were the following:

> (6) Dr. Pauling, in the course of his career, has been connected with various pro-Communist or "Communist front" political activities and with a significant number of persons whose affiliations with the Communist Party, U.S.A., are matters of record.
>
> Dr. Pauling has figured as the No. 1 scientific name in virtually every major activity of the Communist peace offensive in this country. He has participated in many international organizations and international conferences sponsored by the Communist peace offensive.
>
> He has issued statements, or taken legal action, on behalf of the convicted atom bomb spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell, the "Hollywood 10," the 12 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act, etc. He has, in these cases, invariably rejected the findings of the highest courts in the country, and expressed views in consonance with the positions of the Communist press and Communist-front organizations.
>
> In his statements and his attitudes, Dr. Pauling has displayed a consistent pro-Soviet bias. . . .
>
> He has consistently opposed legislation and agencies set up by the American Government to safeguard itself against Communist subversion.
>
> (7) Dr. Pauling has, over the past decade, played a role of outstanding importance as organizer and spokesman in the United States for organizations recognized as part of the Communist "peace" offensive.

Dr. Linus Pauling's opinions of other Americans, from exhibits offered in the trial.

JOHN F. KENNEDY: An order to resume nuclear testing would cause JFK to "go down in history as one of the most immoral men of all time and one of the greatest enemies of the human race." Resumption of nuclear testing would be "a monstrous immorality." (*N.Y. Times* March 3, 1962)

HARRY S. TRUMAN, THOMAS E. DEWEY: "We believe with Henry Wallace that the major parties and their candidates—Thomas E. Dewey and Harry S. Truman—in bi-partisan alliance have brought us to the brink of war and fascism; that they represent in their policies the interests of the few at the expense of the many . . ." (Adv. "We're for Wallace," *N.Y. Times* October 20, 1948)

HARRY S. TRUMAN. . . . accused of being "irrational, ignorant or unscrupulous or any combination of each." (*N.Y. Post,* November 9, 1959)

DR. EDWARD TELLER, DR. WILLARD F. LIBBY: They had made "dishonest, untrue and misleading" statements to the American public. Their statements about nuclear testing "are not honest, outright, forthright statements." ("Meet the Press")

SEN. THOMAS J. DODD: characterized as "one of the greatest enemies of the American people": AP dispatch, *Baltimore Sun June* 22, 1960.

During the trial Dr. Pauling's attorney, Mr. Matar, elicited admissions of many of these connections from Pauling himself, who would then take pains to stress his good faith ("I decided that it was a good activity that should help the cause of international understanding and world peace . . ."), or the fortuitous nature of his involvement, or both. For example, the following colloquy—as contrasted with evidence entered in the trial record by NATIONAL REVIEW's attorney, Mr. C. Dickerman Williams.

> *Mr. Matar. Q:* Can you tell us what you know about the American Continental Congress for Peace and what association you had with it, if any?
> *Dr. Pauling:* Yes. In the late summer of 1949 my wife and I heard I think at a dinner party somewhere that there was going to be held in Mexico City an American Continental Congress for Peace during one week of the month of September. I saw that this was just the week before the meeting of the American Chemical Society was to be held in Atlantic City. . . . I pointed out to my wife that for essentially no cost we could visit Mexico City where we had never been, participate in a peace meeting, a large peace meeting which we had never done before, and we decided that we would go to this meeting.
>
> When we arrived in Mexico City we found that there were some 100 Americans there and at a meeting

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held by the American group I was elected the chairman of the American delegation and then was assigned the office, or elected, chosen for the office of vice-chairman of the Peace Congress itself.

(At another point during plaintiff's examination)

Dr. Pauling: I may have in the fall or late summer of 1949, when I decided, my wife and I, to go to Mexico City, also decided to participate in a call to Americans to go [to the American Continental Congress for Peace]: but I can't say that I remember it.

* * *

Mr. Matar. I resent the implication here.

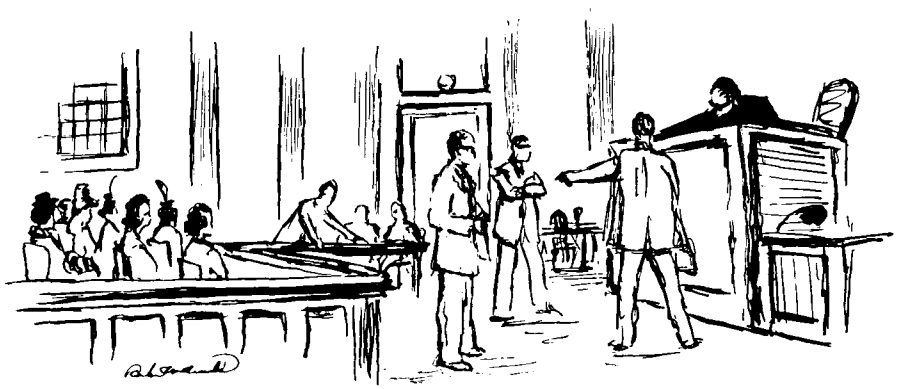
THE COURT: It is not for you to resent. Just object or don't object.

* * *

Mr. Williams. Q: Professor Pauling, do you know what the Communist Party line has been over a period of years on all issues that have been mentioned in this case?

A: No; I would say on very few issues do I know what the Communist Party line has been over the last eighteen years.

Linus Pauling on how to spot a Communist or fellow traveler:



(During cross examination)

Mr. Williams. Q: Professor, how do you account for the fact that the *Daily Worker* was able to announce on July 29, 1949—

* * *

Q *(continuing)*:—that you would serve as vice president of that Congress?

(Mr. Williams read from the *Daily Worker* of July 29, 1949 as follows: "More than 200 leading Americans have sponsored a peace congress to be held in Mexico City, September 5-10, it was announced yesterday by the Committee for United States Participation in the American Continental Congress for World Peace. Dr. Linus Pauling, scientist, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, sociologist, will serve as United States vice presidents. . . .")

How good was Dr. Pauling at identifying either the *Daily Worker* or the Communist Party line? Here is what the transcript shows:

Mr. Williams. Q: Professor Pauling, I believe you testified that the *Daily Worker* was known to you to be the official organ of the Communist Party.

Mr. Matar: Objection, your Honor.

THE COURT (Judge Samuel J. Silverman): We will take judicial notice of the fact that the *Daily Worker* is generally believed during its period of publication to be an organ of the Communist Party.

THE COURT: The witness stated, and there is no doubt, at page 2106: "I have never associated myself with any persons who were—with any persons that I knew or even suspected of being completely dedicated Communists or of being Communists."

* * *

Mr. Williams. Q: Did you allow the use of your name by Communist organizations?

A. No, not to the best of my knowledge.

* * *

Q. Isn't it a fact you testified in the *Daily News* case, "I don't know how to tell Communists"?

(Daily News testimony read to witness)

Q. Is it still the fact that you are unable to tell Communists, Professor?

A. Well, I think so. As I look at the audience here I don't know which of these people are Communists.

THE COURT: You mean you can't tell by looking at them.

The Witness: I can't tell by looking at them. I think this is what I had in mind.

Q. You meant you simply couldn't tell by looking at a person whether he was a Communist or not?

A. That's right. Well, there is more to it than that.

Q. Do you know how to tell a fellow traveler?

A. I don't think I am expert enough in this field to answer this question.

3) *As regards the organizations and individuals Linus Pauling had sued or threatened to sue, the following emerged when Dr. Pauling was questioned by Mr. Williams at the pretrial examination and at the trial itself.*

Q. Did this suit brought by you against the Globe-Democrat Company [of St. Louis] come to trial *** and for what party was the jury's verdict in favor?

* * *

A. The verdict was for the defendant.

* * *

Q. Did your suit against the News Syndicate Company [which publishes *The N.Y. Daily News*] come to trial?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the verdict?

* * *

A. The verdict was for the defendant.

Re: Pauling *v.* Bellingham Publishing Co., of Bellingham, Washington. The complaint demanded $500,000.

Mr. Williams: Q. Professor, on Monday, I believe you referred to your suit against the Bellingham Publishing Company . . .

* * *

Q. That is the action which . . . you settled for $16,000?

A. Yes, that's right.

Re: Pauling *v.* The Hearst Corp. *et al.* The complaint demanded $1,000,000.

Mr. Williams: Q. This is in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, Linus C. Pauling *v.* The Hearst Corporation and King Features Syndicate Inc. And Professor Pauling's attorney in the case, as in this, was Mr. Matar. . . .

* * *

Q. What was your recovery in that settlement?

A. My recovery was $17,500.

Re: An exchange of letters between Dr. Linus Pauling and Mr. William Nichols, editor of *This Week* Magazine.

Mr. Williams: Q. Now, Professor, on June 18, 1962, did you write a letter to *This Week* Magazine requesting an apology and the publication of the letter which you enclosed?

* * *

A. (Examines letter) Yes.

* * *

Q. . . . Now, Professor, in that letter you made no reference to any libel suit, did you?

A. No.

Mr. Williams: Can we take judicial notice that the verdict in the *AWARE* case was returned on June 28, 1962?* [Judicial notice is taken]

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Mr. Williams: (reading from June 29, 1962 letter from Dr. Pauling to Mr. Nichols) . . . "In order that you may be aware of the seriousness with which I view attacks on my integrity and loyalty to the United States, such as that in the article 'Let's Face the Truth about Nuclear Testing' that was published in *This Week* Magazine for June 10, 1962, I enclose a reprint of an editorial from *Frontier* Magazine for June 1962 and a statement of retraction and apology published in the *Bellingham Herald* for May 4, 1962, in which reference is made to four libel suits based upon the publication of defamatory material about me.

The clipping from *Frontier*, read in part:

> The Bellingham Publishing Co., publisher of the *Bellingham* (Washington) *Herald*, has sent Pauling a check for $16,000. The $16,000 represents an out-of-court settlement of a libel suit filed against the *Herald* by Pauling. In November and December of 1960, the paper printed five letters reflecting on Pauling's loyalty. In addition to paying off, the *Herald* had to publish an apology to Dr. Pauling and a retraction of the defamatory statements made in the letters.
>
> Pauling has three other libel suits in the courts at the present time. He is suing the Hearst Publishing Co., and King Features Syndicate for $1 million for accusations made against him by columnist Fulton Lewis Jr. and he is suing the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for $300,000 and the *New York Daily News* for $500,000** because of editorial comment about him in those papers. One down, and three to go.

4) *As regards Dr. Pauling's charge that there had been a reduction in his income, in the course of the examination before trial he submitted the following figures from his 1962, 1963 and 1964 income tax returns:*

Year	A	B	C	D	E	NET
1962	$19,833.34	$28,912.10	$394.94	$ 8,217.58	$16,954.42	$40,403.54
1963	20,833.30	31,241.59	81.91	8,508.19	15,766.58	44,888.41
1964	25,000.00	29,393.57	110.51	12,259.59	16,779.61	49,984.14

A. Salary
B. Royalties from scientific textbooks
C. Royalties from *No More War!*
D. Income from lectures, articles including reimbursable expenses
E. Total non-reimbursed expenses involved in connection with foregoing

He also testified at the pre-trial examination:

> Q. Did you receive a Nobel Prize for Peace following the publication of these editorials?
> A. I received the Nobel Peace Prize for 1962 on the 11th of October 1963, so that was following the publication of these editorials.
> Q. What was the amount of that prize?
> A. It was about $49,500.
> Q. Is that prize subject to income tax?
> A. No.

B. On the matter of alleged personal malice, Matar was unable to make headway. In his letter to Matar asking him to specify factual inaccuracies, Rusher stated that no one at NATIONAL REVIEW knew Pauling personally, and hence could not have developed any grounds for personal malice. On the stand, Pauling testified that he had granted "in 1957 or 1958" a two-hour interview to *NR* Senior Editor L. Brent Bozell, in the course of which he gave Bozell answers to questions which made NATIONAL REVIEW's subsequent editorials recklessly heedless of the facts.

The defense (which was never called—the case was dismissed at the close of the plaintiff's case) was prepared to show a) that Bozell had never communicated the contents of his conversation with Pauling to his fellow editors; b) that when the editorials were written, Bozell had been eighteen consecutive months in Spain with his family, and on leave of absence from NATIONAL REVIEW; and c) that when he interviewed Pauling, it was at the behest not of NATIONAL REVIEW, but on assignment from the *Reader's Digest*.

Was there a special conspiracy at NR to smear Pauling? Or did the editorial simply arise from routine discussions? Mr. Burnham explained the background during the examination before trial which was read into evidence at the trial:

> *Mr. Burnham:* The subject of this editorial in a somewhat earlier form had been discussed a few weeks before this in connection with a public advertisement that appeared, I believe, in the *N.Y. Times*, signed by Professor Pauling and a number of other persons. for withdrawal of American support from the regime in South Vietnam, denouncing that regime and denouncing the American action in support of it. . . .
>
> On that particular day I had, or within a few days of that, I had at hand the newspaper articles dealing with the case of Dr. Robert Soblen [the convicted Soviet spy] and the matter of the bond which had become forfeit when he skipped the country.
>
> In fact, Mrs. [Helen] Buttenweiser had put up part of this bond along with, according to her testimony, George Kirstein, publisher of the *Nation*.
>
> I also read an ad concerning South Vietnam, and I explained that these two together seemed to me to raise a number of very important points of social and political policy, and also what one might call even a philosophical point, that these were matters in which our magazine had very frequently been interested and written about and discussed, and that it would be a good occasion to raise some of these questions.
>
> I suggested that the editorial should be primarily in the form of a kind of reflective questioning of what one does about this situation as we analyzed it. Namely, a situation in which citizens like Mrs. Buttenweiser, Professors Pauling and [certain others] were prepared and, in fact, did enter into activities that involved collaboration with Communists or in causes that served, objectively speaking, the interests of Communism.
>
> Such activities, as I mentioned explicitly in the editorial, not breaking any law, but, as we analyzed them, injuring the interests of the nation and the free world.
>
> *Mr. Matar:* Q. You say "we analyzed them." Who was it when you refer to "we"?
>
> * * *
>
> *A:* . . . I meant I and those who agreed with me and with respect to these problems, I think the persons there present [at the editorial conference: Wm. F. Buckley, Wm. F. Rickenbacker, Miss Priscilla Buckley, Timothy J. Wheeler] probably were all in agreement.
>
> * * *
>
> The actual title of the editorial was suggested by the Senate [Internal Security Subcommittee] report on Linus Pauling. It was published, I believe, in November 1961. Although I am not certain of the date. But I had read that report and gone over it not long before this and in that there is a statement—I only state here the substance—to the effect that Professor Pauling is, has been one of the most, one of the Americans most frequently in collaboration with Communists,

* A N.Y. Supreme Court jury June 28 voted a $3.5 million libel award to John Henry Faulk, radio and TV performer who charged that he had been fired by CBS in September 1957 and later blacklisted by the entire broadcasting industry because an Aware, Inc. bulletin had libelously characterized him as pro-Communist.—*Facts on File*, Thursday, November 8–Wednesday November 14, 1962.

** A jury found for the defendent in this suit.

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and I believe that psychologically it was that that suggested this particular title.

The purpose of the title also was to distinguish between Communists proper, active, and actual party members or disciplined Communists on the one hand, and those persons who were collaborating with them on the other.

Q. But they were the same in your eyes, were they not, reached the same ends, whether they—

A. By no means the same in my eyes. They are totally different.

Q. I mean different in the sense that their approach is different, but in their aims, are they not the same?

A. Not to my knowledge. I don't think so. . . . I think most collaborators are mistaken. Communists know what they are doing. . . .

* * *

Now, there are many other factors also that enter into it. For example, one has to understand the Communist movement and how it operates and how it makes use of people who are not Communists.

Q. And you have a full understanding of such movement?

A. "Full" is a very difficult—

Q. You hold yourself out as somewhat of an expert in this, do you not?

A. Yes.

Q. So you would claim you have a full understanding of this movement, would you not?

A. Again, "full understanding," I was taught, is possessed only by God.

Q. And as far as a lay person or a mortal can have such an understanding, you would say that your—you are sure—you feel assured that you have a pretty good understanding; is that correct?

A. Yes, I do.

* * *

Q. How long would you say it took you to write this writing or draft this writing that we are speaking of?

A. Four, five hours. I wouldn't be able to say.

Q. And you carefully went over the wording in connection with this?

A. I did.

Q. Took some time in deliberation of each and every phrase and thought that was to go in?

A. I am a trained professional writer, Mr. Matar. I automatically write that way.

From the examination before trial testimony of William Buckley.

Mr. Matar: Q. Did you in your assigning to Mr. Burnham the article in question, make any suggestion to him with regard to checking any of the facts in connection with the statements that he was going to make in that article?

Mr. Buckley: A. Certainly not. Any more than I would suggest to Michelangelo that he get the right paint.

* * *

Q. Did you at any time ask Mr. Burnham the basis for any of the statements that were made in this article?

A. The answer is that as a result of a long association with Mr. Burnham, I know that he writes on subjects about which he has considerable knowledge, and that, therefore, it is presumptively responsible.

* * *

Q. What steps had you taken in connection with your review of this article to ascertain the truth of the alleged claims in that article?

A. What concrete steps?

Q. Yes.

A. Well, I filtered it through my memory, my understanding of contemporary history, my understanding of philosophy, my understanding of the decent relationships among people, my understanding of my religion, my understanding of the competence of my associates.

Q. What about your understanding of the facts?

A. That's included in the list I gave you.

Q. But it wasn't mentioned.

A. History is full of facts.

V. Some of the Difficulties of Certain Lawsuits

A. *Length and complexity.*

Here, for instance, is a bare-bones outline of the legal steps that preceded the dismissal on Tuesday, April 19, 1966. One should bear in mind that the dismissal by the judge precisely means that there is not even enough of a case, under what he judges to be relevant law, to take to the jury! Here were the legal steps dating from January 17, 1963, to April 19, 1966:

Pauling files complaint . . . *NR* serves demand for bill of particulars. . . . Court grants motion vacating demand for bill of particulars, without prejudice. . . . *NR* serves new demand for bill of particulars. . . . Pauling makes another motion to vacate second bill of particulars . . . *NR* abandons the argument over bill of particulars, and sets up oral examination before trial (EBT). . . . Pauling's lawyer (Matar) makes repeated objections frustrating EBT. . . . Matar examines JB, WFB, WAR, asks so many questions deemed improper that *NR* demands session before Court. . . . EBTs resumed. Arguments over what Court said. . . . Matar moves to put case on calendar even though EBTs have not been completed, and Court agrees to do so. . . . Matar resumes EBT, asks WAR for elaborate series of papers relative to WAR's knowledge of Pauling. Documents are meticulously rounded up—whereupon Matar discontinues EBT. . . . Matar makes motion to strike answer. . . . Williams (representing *NR*) makes motion to strike complaint. . . . Both motions come on before Court. Court proposes that EBTs be conducted before Referee. Both parties agree. . . . WAR makes himself available for continued EBT before Referee. . . . Matar, who has been claiming bitterly for months about unavailability of WFB, decides, after all, now that WFB is available, not to reexamine him. . . . Williams attempts to continue examination of Pauling. . . . Pauling agrees to appear on November 27, 1964. Doesn't show up. . . . Referee permits Pauling to show up on January 9. Doesn't show up. . . . Meanwhile Matar, displeased with Referee, moves to vacate agreement to proceed before him. . . . Williams makes cross-motion to dismiss on account of defaults of Pauling.

Court denies Matar's motion. On Williams' motion, gives Pauling one more chance to appear. . . . Pauling finally appears May 1965. . . . Williams meanwhile moves for summary judgment in behalf of *NR*, citing *New York Times* v. *Sullivan* decision of the Supreme Court on the limitations of libel complaints by public officials. . . . Motion denied on ground that trial is necessary. . . . Appeal taken. . . . Appeal argued before Appellate Division. . . . Appeal denied. . . . Case on trial calendar. . . . Williams argues for adjournment on grounds that Appellate Division hasn't yet been heard from; and on grounds that preparation for trial is impossible in the heat of a political campaign in which WFB is engaged.

Court postpones trial until December 1. . . . After election, Williams files motion for change of venue, citing improbability of fair jury trial in county (Manhattan) so benighted as to give WFB only 7 per cent of the vote, adduces hate-inciting editorials in local press. Motion denied. . . . Appealed. . . . Denied. . . . Comes on trial calendar January 4, 1966. Court postpones to February 4. . . . On Feb. 4, Court sends action out to trial. . . . Williams moves for consolidation of two pending actions (*Pauling* and

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Harper). Court grants application. Matar appeals. And applies to Appellate Court for stay pending hearing by full bench on prospective motion for stay. . . . Court denies motion for temporary stay. . . . Matar moves to disqualify judge on grounds he was prosecutor of Rosenbergs and Sobell. . . . Judge rules that though he is not disqualified, he will withdraw as a matter of discretion. . . . Cases return to general calendar for reassignment. . . . Cases assigned to trial judge. . . . Meeting before trial judge, who seeks settlement, and midwifes one (*Harper*). . . . Pauling trial on. . . . Six weeks of trial. . . . Judge nearly rules mistrial several times in protest against behavior of Matar. . . . Judge, at close of plaintiff's case, rules that *New York Times* decision controls, that Matar has not proved that *NR* wrote in reckless disregard of the truth. Case dismissed. . . . Pauling announces intention to appeal.

PROSPECTIVE: Mr. C. D. Williams will oppose Pauling before Appellate Division. If all judges agree with trial judge, Pauling will have to ask leave of Appellate Division to appeal one step higher. If one judge in bench of Appellate Division agrees with Pauling, Pauling will have the right to appeal to Court of Appeals. . . . If Pauling loses in Court of Appeals, he can apply to U.S. Supreme Court to hear him. . . . *NR* will have to be present to guard its interests at every one of these forthcoming confrontations.

B. *Extraordinary expenses involved in the case:*

a) Lawyers' time (est.: $75,000); b) defendants' time lost (est.: $20,000); c) researchers' time (est.: $5,000); d) accumulation of exhibits (est.: $1,500); d) transcripts (est.: $5,000); f) miscellaneous (est.: $3,000). Estimated total: $110,000.

C. *The extraordinary capacity of a lawyer to drag out the examinations of witnesses.* (When Linus Pauling sued the *New York Daily News*—the plaintiff consumed three days in presenting his case. In the NATIONAL REVIEW case, the plaintiff took five weeks.)

For examples of Mr. Matar at work:

Q. Would it refresh your recollection to say that when Dr. Pauling received such a subpena he wrote to the subcommittee and informed them—

Mr. Williams: I object to this.

THE COURT: Do you recall any correspondence from Dr. Pauling?

The Witness (WAR): Well, your Honor, I don't recall any correspondence.

THE COURT: You have the letter you want to refresh his recollection with?

Mr. Matar: No.

THE COURT: All right. No, I am not going to have a statement by counsel paraphrasing a letter which is not here.

Q. Did the subcommittee—

THE COURT: It doesn't make any difference. I have been sitting here wondering what has this got to do with the case.

Mr. Matar: But your Honor, let me—

THE COURT: Yes, I have been letting you—

Mr. Matar: No, I don't believe, sir, that I have here an opportunity to get this in for this point. I have a line of inquiry—

THE COURT: Go on with your next question.

Q. Does it refresh your recollection that Dr. Pauling wrote to the subcommittee and—

Mr. Williams: Your honor, I object.

THE COURT: Sustained. I have just sustained an objection, saying I am not going to allow you to attempt to refresh a witness' recollection by your paraphrase of a letter which isn't here.

Mr. Matar: Will you take this subject to connection?

THE COURT: No. It is not a question of subject to connection, it is a question of the possibility of an inaccurate paraphrase.

Q. Well, to the words or effect that Dr. Pauling—

Mr. Williams: I object.

THE COURT: I have just twice now sustained that objection.

Q. Did it come to your attention, while you were working with the subcommittee, that Dr. Pauling offered to appear a week prior to the date suggested in the subpena or ordered in the subpena?

Mr. Williams: I object, your Honor.

THE COURT: The objection is sustained; utterly irrelevant to this case. The

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action involves two articles, one of which is there and the other is July 1962.

Mr. Matar: I think it is relevant on the question of malice.
THE COURT: I rule it is not.
* * *
Mr. Matar: And are you saying it is not that these "litigious goose-pimples appear, judging from newspaper accounts." Is that your testimony?
Mr. Williams: Your Honor, we have covered this about three times.
THE COURT: I thought we covered it, and the witness has told us that. Are you unclear about it? Do you want him to repeat it?
Mr. Matar: Yes. I was unclear whether he is denying—
THE COURT: I thought it was clear but, all right. You may explain that again.
The Witness: What am I being called on to explain?
* * *
Mr. Matar: Q. And that similarly in the News Syndicate and the Hearst Corporation suits that were filed by Dr. Pauling they all preceded by at least a year the judgment in the Faulk case?
Mr. Williams: I object to the form of the question. Mr. Matar shouldn't be doing the testifying.
THE COURT: Sustained.
Q. Did you know that to be a fact, that—
THE COURT: Objection sustained.
Q.—that the suits by Dr. Pauling, did you know this—
THE COURT: You already have gotten the dates, you have asked him whether he knew the dates, he has told you what he knows about it. Now what do you want to do, do the arithmetic from 1961 to 1963?

D. *The time consumed by evasive witnesses. E.g. Dr. Pauling on the stand . . .*

Mr. Williams: Q. While you were in Moscow—did you go to Moscow on that trip?
Dr. Pauling: While I was in the Soviet Union, you mean, yes.
Q. The trip began on or about November 18, 1961.
A. Yes.
Q. And did you receive an invitation to tea from Madame Khrushchev?
A. No.
Q. Did you see Madame Khrushchev?
A. Yes, I did.
Q. And it wasn't at tea?
A. Well, I—no, it wasn't a tea. But tea, I believe—
Q. —was served?
A. Tea was served, and vodka, if I remember correctly.
Q. At any rate, you received an invitation to visit her at the Kremlin?
A. No, I didn't. I didn't receive an invitation to visit her in the Kremlin or anywhere else.
Q. Well, you did get together with Mrs. Khrushchev at her suggestion, did you not?
A. Is this about my moral behavior?
THE COURT: No—
A. No; "No" is the answer.
THE COURT: I take it you did have a meeting with Madame Khrushchev?
The Witness: Well, I was not invited by her—
THE COURT: All right.
Q. And were there photographers around?
A. Yes, I remember photographers.
Q. And were you happy to be there with Mrs. Khrushchev?
THE COURT: Does this really matter?
Q. I show you this picture of yourself with Madame Khrushchev and ask you if that is a fair and reasonable representation of you and Madame Khrushchev at this meeting?
A. I wouldn't describe this reproduction quite in that way, but it is a passable—let's say passable.
Q. I notice that you seem to be very cheerful in that picture.

VI. Practical Summation

1. One of the nation's leading fellow travelers has been trying to prevent responsible individuals and organizations from so labeling him for several years. In the NATIONAL REVIEW case, he met his most serious setback.

2. The *NR* case is doubly important, not only because it beat back Dr. Pauling's attempts at intimidation, but because it provoked a judge who is known in his community as an outstanding legal scholar, to hand down the most resonant opinion yet given, extending the immunities of critics of *"public officials"* (as expanded by the Supreme Court in *New York Times* v. *Sullivan* [1964]) to critics of *"public figures"* who have "thrust [themselves] into the vortex of the discussion of a question of pressing public concern."

3. The practical importance of those immunities is measured by *NR's* own experience. It is all very well to rejoice at a favorable verdict returned by a jury. The trouble is, the patient may at that point have bled to death. The importance of *New York Times* v. *Sullivan* is to spare those members of the public who cannot be shown to have committed "actual malice," i.e., to have criticized public officials (or public figures) in reckless disregard of the truth, such an ordeal as *NR* was exposed to.

4. It remains to be worked out, by experience, and the development of custom, by just what standards the courts will make the crucial determinations concerning a) whether the plaintiff is a public figure; b) whether the dispute is over an issue of public concern; and c) whether the defendant has acted in reckless disregard of the known facts. If the answers to a) and b) are yes, and to c) no, the suit will, in all probability, in the years ahead be peremptorily dismissed. Individual judges will continue to exercise considerable discretion. Marginal cases will undoubtedly continue to go to the jury and there will be wrangling in the higher courts as to whether Plaintiff Jones is a public figure, whether given issues are public or private, and whether Defendant Smith acted with "actual malice."

5. The safest guide is to proceed as if the *New York Times* decision had never been written. I.e., public discussion should be "uninhibited, robust and wide-open," as the Court put it, and responsible. NATIONAL REVIEW published from 1955 to 1962 without legal harassment and without, so far as we know, maligning anyone. The *New York Times* decision is not a license to libel. It can become an effective curb on harassment, and thus a valuable new bulwark of the free and open dialogue essential to a free society.

LEGAL WHO'S WHO

Michael Levi Matar (b. 1924). University of Wisconsin. Yale Law Bar 1950.

C. Dickerman Williams (b. 1900). Yale College and Law. Bar 1926.

Samuel J. Silverman (b. 1908). Columbia College and Law. Bar 1931. Elected Judge of Supreme Court, County of New York, 1962.

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Letter From London

State of the Nation

COLM BROGAN

Two matters that are intrinsically insignificant may yet throw some light on the curious and depressing atmosphere of contemporary Britain. A television critic reported on a program which compared a number of countries for their efficiency in certain services; telephones, roads, hotels, public transport and hospital facilities. The critic noted in mild surprise that Japan, not the United States, came first, and added, almost as a throwaway, "I needn't tell you who came at the bottom." England, the sceptr'd isle, the precious jewel set in a silver sea. Natch.

There was more than a half humorous resignation in this entirely characteristic comment. There was an element of quiet smugness. The Left masochistically insists that Britain has become a second-class power and must adjust to the exigencies of that status. Dean Acheson said that Britain has lost an Empire but not yet found a role. Little did he know. Britain has settled to the role of being a second-class power and a third-rate nation, still claiming the "moral leadership of the world."

The Englishman sees himself as the experienced man of philosophic mind who has put aside all self-destroying ambition and leans on his garden fork while he smokes his pipe and watches the fevered and fretful world go by, with a feeling of quiet superiority. He may grumble frequently enough at the incompetence, lack of conscientiousness and laziness amounting to plain dishonesty which reduced most of our public services to a shambles, but although he knows that these things are exasperating, he seldom considers that they are disgraceful.

In one of his occasional essays, Tocqueville described the hard, set faces of young Americans about to set out for virgin territory. These were the same hard, set faces that Engels saw on the young English men of business streaming across London Bridge in the morning. They are not to be seen today. "Some virtue has gone out of the English." Clemenceau said that nearly forty years ago. If he returned to life, he could say it again.

The lack of willingness to accept the strains and penalties of open competition in the world arena is matched by a fatuous exaggeration of any small success that is now and again achieved. This brings me to my second intrinsically insignificant example. Since the end of the War, Britain has done very badly in the Olympic Games, and very little was expected of the team that went to Tokyo. In the event the team came back with four gold medals. Only one of them, the long jump, carried any serious international prestige, but the British press exploded into exultant headlines. "A Shower of Gold," said one paper, and there was a celebration tea party in Downing Street. Another sporting venture in Tokyo produced an equally idiotic response. Alan Rudkin, a young British flyweight boxer, was narrowly defeated for the world title by Harada, the reigning champion. Rudkin did so well that he had quite a respectable claim on a return match, but one of our enthusiastic boxing commentators went much further than making this quite reasonable claim. He said that Rudkin could confidently be expected to win the championship, fighting at another time, in another place *and preferably against another opponent.*

Ulcerous Americans

The surrealistic fatuity of this remark is unfortunately typical of the British attitude to the world at large. We keep on telling ourselves that the world doesn't owe us a living and keep on behaving as if it did. Harold Wilson proclaimed in New York that we are ready to knock the hell out of all opposition in international trade, but when it comes to an actual contest, we prefer another time, another place and, above all, another opponent. It is well known that Americans are gross materialists and give themselves ulcers. No True Born Englishman would put up with that kind of life. Then, of course, it's well known that the Germans and the Japs actually *like* work. Morbid, that.

This is not to say that the British are lacking in technical daring and ingenuity. To accommodate a changed system of dialing, the Post Office installed new phones and coin boxes in 7,000 London public phone booths. The speaking piece of the telephone could be pulled away with a single jerk, and the coin box could be prised from the wall with any simple instrument. Of the 7,000 phones, 500 were put out of action by vandals and thieves. The new phone had been given an award by the Council of Industrial Design. That same Council recommended a metal rack over which newspapers could be folded. The editor of a weekly review bought one of the racks meaning to fold all the week's copies of all the important newspapers, each over its own separate bar on the rack. He discovered that the space was so narrow that only the two tabloids and the *Daily Worker* could be fitted in. The rest had to be piled on the floor.

The liner train was a much more ambitious effort at modernization, providing the economy with that cutting edge that Harold Wilson called for so loudly in the election of 1964, but was careful not to mention in the election of 1966. The liner train runs non-stop carrying goods from big cities to London. The goods containers are brought by truck to the terminal and then loaded on the train. The train itself is an enormous truck and, of course, requires no guard (conductor), but British Rail guaranteed that there would always be a guard going along for the trip. This was not good enough for the National Union of Railwaymen. They insisted on a cabin being tacked on the end of every liner train so that the guard's position would be physically built-in. Even that was not enough. British Rail employs 17,000 men in its own cartage branch, which loses a great deal of money. Although British Rail insisted that not a single man in the cartage division would lose his job because of the liner trains, the unions insisted that no private enterprise

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firm be allowed to bring goods to or carry them from the liner trains. Thus, the liner trains which cost something like £150 million are losing money like a hemorrhage. They are running at one third of capacity, even though a good deal of the traffic has been carried free. Harold Wilson's Oxford thesis was on Railway Management. This is how he runs a railway.

The ex-miner, Lord Robens, who is head of the Coal Board, is an able and energetic man. Every time Lord Beeching, who was head of British Rail till he was forced to resign, tried to close a branch line that was as useful as a stage coach, he was met with howls of outrage and anguish that would have done credit to a patient suffering an unnecessary amputation without anaesthetic. Lord Robens had the same experience every time he tried to close a mine that was producing coal at a cost that was twice its selling price. Just as Beeching pushed ahead with liner trains, Robens pushed ahead with automation. He has organized what I think is the only completely automated pit in the world. There is one drawback. The pit is not worked by automation. The miners won't have it.

The biggest growth industry in Britain is the manufacture of overtime. The most important restrictive practice is the simple one of not doing enough work. An exporter has said that of the total cartage cost of sending goods to Australia more than half is taken up by getting the goods from his own plant into the holds of ships at London docks. The distance from the plant to the docks is two miles. Distance from the docks to Australia 12,000 miles.

Harold Wilson may not know much, but he surely knows that his bacon has been so far saved by supports that have nothing to do with his own or the national effort. Apart from enormous international loans, Britain has gained from a fall in the prices of its primitive imports and a steady expansion in world export trade of manufactured goods. James Callaghan, Chancellor of the Exchequer, has boasted of an increase in exports though our percentage of the export trade has actually sunk. The fall in the price of primitive exports from the so-called "developing" countries cancels many times over the puny aid that Britain gives to those countries. This greatly troubles the tender hearts of our Socialist progressives, who want to see a decent, steady and guaranteed price arranged to bring security and hope to the exploited colored masses. But in his famous speech on the Common Market, Wilson insisted with vicious emphasis that he would buy food in the cheapest market. It was Grandgrind rampant. The tender progressives, besotted with adulation of their leader, had not a whisper of protest.

The economic policy of the Socialist government was a total failure. All the financial clamps imposed by five Budgets in seven months were intended to reduce imports and employment inflation. Imports were not reduced and employment inflation became worse than ever.

Lazy Britons

During the election campaign, Edward Heath described the national cancer in a formula, 9:5:1. This meant a 9 per cent rise in earnings, a 5 per cent rise in prices and a 1 per cent rise in production (production has now stopped rising altogether). This is the formula for national ruin. Sooner or later, the cracking price dam will break altogether and monetary inflation will run wild. But to the incorrigibly ignorant, short-sighted and parochial British electorate this looked like a pretty good bargain. Selling the first National Insurance scheme Lloyd George invented the slogan "Ninepence for Fourpence." This was "Ninepence for Fivepence," still an attractive offer, and the electorate voted for ruin.

Harold Wilson cynically and shamelessly encouraged them. He knew very well that with employment at its present flood tide, it was no more possible to secure an economic redistribution of labor than it would be to play a game of Musical Chairs with ten players and eleven chairs. He attacked Heath, alleging that he wanted to have ten men chasing nine jobs. In the Slough trading estate, the Labor Exchange has five vacant jobs on its books for every man allegedly seeking work and 20 vacancies for every woman. This is the state of affairs that the posturing mountebank, now back in Downing Street, has pledged himself to defend. The chickens know the address. They will come there to roost.

It is said that every people gets the government it so deserves. From one point of view this is true of the British people of today. They have always been lazy, but now they are vocationally lazy. Their narrowness is hard to believe. Millions of the men have seen foreign service in one or other of the great wars, but for all the effect it had on most of them, they might as well have seen the strange scenes, strange faces and strange customs on a movie screen. Their collective smugness is impregnable. Walter Bagehot considered that they were fit for democracy because of their stupidity. They have lost nothing in stupidity, but democracy has so changed in its demands since Bagehot's time that they are now unfitted.

And yet, and yet. There is so much goodness in them. Individually they are not smug at all. They may be sulky, but they are gentle and law-abiding. (All the dead in civil disturbance in the last century could easily be accommodated in a single London bus). They have none of the rancors and tensions that are rending Belgium apart, none of the efficient boorishness that is the mark of Germany, none of that intellectual brilliance that finds expression either in cynicism or fanaticism that is at once the glory and the curse of France and none of that absolute stubbornness that is the essence of Spain. There are no British Billie Sol Estes or Bobby Bakers. If they take work easy, they are also easy to live with. They hate arrogance and quarrelsomeness and great occasions sometimes find greatness within them. It is sad indeed that it will take the most immediate imminence of disaster, if not disaster itself, to bring them to their senses.

James Callaghan is honest enough as politicians go. Towards the end of the election he thought fit to deliver a warning. "We are not out of the wood yet," he told us. This man, as parochial as any Welsh miner or London docker, thought he was being grimly realistic, but the keeper of the national purse was being fatuously optimistic.

We are not into the wood yet.

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Letter from Buenos Aires

Another Putsch in the Argentine?

ROBERT PETER

On the sidewalks, in the coffee houses, on the beaches, at cocktail parties everyone asks about it: will there be another military putsch in the Argentine? We've had these rumors before. But what is new now is that those who would have to carry out any putsch are quiet, and those the putsch would be launched against speak of it almost with longing. Indeed, the same people who could not wait, three years ago, for the return of civilian government under President Illía now act as if they would not resist a military take-over.

Superficially, it would appear that the time had never been more propitious for a strengthening of democracy, what with Peronism facing its worst crisis since Perón himself was exiled. The conflict between the Old Peronists, the uncompromising supporters of the ex-dictator, and the New Peronists, the equally uncompromising proponents of Peronism without Perón, has never been more pronounced. One of the strongest figures is the head of the metal workers' union, Augusto Timoteo Vandor. When Perón fled into exile, Vandor stayed behind, although it might have meant imprisonment, and slowly built up a political career. When the CGT (*Confederación General de Trabajo,* the central organization of unions) under Frondizi regained the rights it had lost under General Aramburu's revolutionary regime, its strong man was Vandor (although the CGT's titular head was José Alonso of the garment workers).

Vandor began to make Perón uneasy. Living in Madrid with his many millions, trying to leaven with luxury the bitter bread of banishment, Perón tried to control Peronism from afar. It isn't easy, at best, but Perón complicated matters by frequently sending new orders overturning older ones, naming one new favorite after another as the "only authorized" viceroy. No wonder Vandor began to sing Perón's praises while doing exactly what he himself thought right.

Perón saw that this could not go on. He found out in his abortive attempt to return to Argentina last year that he cannot come back, though he promises his followers with wonderful regularity that he will. Meanwhile he has sent them María Estela Martínez de Perón, nicknamed "Isabelita," his handsome third wife, apparently in the hope that she will be as useful to him politically as was her predecessor, the famous Evita.

It soon became clear that Isabelita's job was to break Vandor's influence. Isabelita set up a new executive committee including Alonso, the head of the CGT, but minus Vandor. Vandor ("The Wolf") struck back. He refused to recognize the committee, and the 62 unions that comprise the CGT split into two camps. Vandor led a majority of the unions, and the strongest ones; Alonso counted eighteen on his, i.e. Isabelita's, side. This rift carried over to the political sector. The parliamentary Peronists split into Vandorists, Isabelists, and a third sect, very small, independent of both. All three continue to pledge allegiance to Perón because Perón remains an idol of the masses, and you don't get anywhere here in Argentina without the ritual obeisance to Perón. The rites can be peculiar. While the trusty Alonso was saying "Perón is my best friend," Vandor described his love for Perón as follows: "In today's situation we must rise against Perón in order to protect Perón." A remarkable formula.

Under these circumstances it would appear that democracy stands a better chance than ever in Argentina. That would be the case if the Argentinian political parties could think in democratic terms. The hour cries out for a united front of anti-Peronist parties in next year's important elections. Nothing of the sort is being organized. President Illía's people think they have a majority because they won the last general election. They won only because they copped a lot of Peronist votes—and even then they picked up only 24 per cent of the total vote. The anti-Peronist parties, together, were twice as strong as the Peronists, but Illía's Radical People's Party thought it had to rule alone. And what has it done since Illía took office (Illía, whose speedy conduct of business has earned him the nickname "Tortoise")? It has abrogated perfectly valid petroleum contracts. Result: Argentina, once self-sufficient, now has to spend gigantic sums to import petroleum. The Treasury resorted to the printing presses; the money is tottering; prices have shot upwards.

So the public wonders what the next elections will bring. Even in the midst of their factional strife the Peronists recently won a resounding victory in the province of Jujuy. In a national election they will surely bridge their differences at least temporarily. The other parties will refuse to unite in opposition. Illía's Radicals expect to gain a rich harvest of votes from people who don't like Illía but who know that a vote cast for one of the minor parties would work to the advantage of the Peronists. The so-called "democratic" parties are running true to form: there are those, in Frondizi's party, and among the Socialists and Christian Democrats, who would welcome a coalition—with the Peronists! The regime has just published a decree designed to check the despotism of union bosses and the uncontrolled financial conduct of the Treasury. The Peronists have unleashed a storm of protest. And who is seconding them? The so-called "democratic" parties.

The voters therefore are afraid that Peronism will win out. The general public no longer wants Illía's party; besides, except in coalition, it would be too weak. So you hear talk of how good it would be if the military would take over again and restore order. The situation is paradoxical: although military leaders put all sorts of impediments in the way of Frondizi and Guido (Illía's predecessors), and were always meddling, they have restrained themselves under Illía and have paid attention strictly to military matters. Now they are wanted! The generals remain silent, but talking is heard on the beaches, in the coffee houses, at the cocktail parties.

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The Island of the Lotus Eaters

ALEC WAUGH

I have re-read Tennyson's "The Song of the Lotus Eaters" more often than any poem in *The Oxford Book of English Verse*. I can tell that from the grubby condition of the pages. That was the main reason why I went to Djerba. But I had a second one: travel agents were advertising it as "The Tahiti of the Mediterranean," and I was curious to compare the island where Ulysses' sailors tried to desert their ship with the one for whose sake Captain Bligh was turned adrift in mid-Pacific.

At a first glance no two places could be less alike. Djerba is flat, whereas Tahiti is mountainous. The narrow coastline of Tahiti is decked with slim and undulant coconut palms. In Djerba there are squat, firm date palms. Tahitians live in bungalows; their rooms open on to wide verandahs; there are no doors to lock. The daughters of Tahiti lie out on mats strumming their ukuleles. In Djerba there are no verandahs. The houses, white-domed and low, with blue painted woodwork, are like pill-boxes where veiled Moslem women can be free from scrutiny. Tahiti is bright with flowers, with bougainvillea, with hibiscus, and the white-starred tiaré that scents the night; Djerba, except for a brief burst of color in early spring, is flowerless.

There is little change of temperature in Tahiti, either by day or night; the sea is warm enough for bathing right through the year. But in Djerba the Mediterranean is very cold in winter, and warm though it is at mid-day the temperature drops considerably at night. The air in Tahiti is septic; a cut takes a long time to heal. The dry air of the desert is medicinal. One of the great charms of Tahiti is the ease with which the visitor makes friends with the Tahitians. In Djerba he will be unlikely to make any contact with the local residents. Yet at the same time the Djerbis appear friendly; they smile at you as you pass and say, "Bonjour."

There is little to do in Djerba. When I was there last year there were no restaurants, no cafés, no cinemas, no night clubs, though I have been told that a casino has been opened since. In the largest hotel, the Ulysse, there is a dance band each evening, and guests from the other hotels visit it. One of the beach hotels has a warm sulphur swimming pool. Usually the tourist is anxious to make a demi-pension arrangement with the hotel where he is staying so that he can take one meal a day in another restaurant. He has no wish to do that in Djerba. He is satisfied to have his existence circumscribed by the hotel of his choice.

The notice-board in his hotel will proffer various forms of entertainment. Two excursions are suggested:

the first takes you to the mainland which is called The Continent. You cross by a five-mile causeway that was built in the third century A.D. by Roman slaves. It became submerged during the long Ottoman occupancy, but it was restored during the French protectorate. The trip has several curious sights to offer, in particular the old caves of Medinine, which are no longer inhabited, but which are maintained as a tourist curiosity. It is an exhausting journey, but it gives the visitor an impression of Southern Tunisia.

The other trip, a four-hour afternoon excursion, is confined to the Island of Djerba; you are taken to Adjim, the chief fishing port, the source of Tunisia's sponge trade, and to Guellala, where the potters still tread clay with their bare feet and model crockery. Then there is Ghriba, where a Jewish community settled during the Babylonian captivity.

There are those two trips, and that is all.

I was visiting Djerba on a two-week package tour, and halfway through the second day I was wondering how on earth I was going to stand this for fourteen days. But by the end of the third day I had become relaxed: I had yielded to the soporific atmosphere of the island. I found it easy and very pleasant to do absolutely nothing. My bedroom faced the east. I am an early waker. I would watch the dawn break from my balcony; more often than not there would be that ten minutes of brilliant coloring, scarlet and orange, in a succession of deep, rich layers that is the privileged possession of the desert.

Usually, in a hotel, when one has time upon one's hands, one is tempted to spend too large a proportion of that time inside the bar. That did not happen in Djerba. The single bottle of duty-free Scotch whisky that I had bought at the London Airport lasted me through the trip. I was content to wait till lunch and dinner to enjoy the local wines.

Those wines are very pleasant. Tunisia is mainly Moslem and the Koran denies to the faithful the enjoyment of the fermented juice of the grape, but under the French protectorate the vine was cherished. I found the wines of the Domaine de Tunair at eighty cents a bottle extremely pleasant, and there was a heavier red wine, Lamblot, at $1.75 a bottle, that rounded off a meal agreeably. The cuisine was mainly French; at my hotel, the Ulysse, it was excellent. There was a wide choice of dishes, and usually each lunch contained a Tunisian specialty. Once a week there would be the national North African dish, Couscous, which is semolina garnished with meat, vegetables and sauces. The Tunisian Couscous is less *pimenté* than the Moroccan variety, perhaps because it is nearer to the desert, where water is scarce, and it is undesirable to create a thirst. For the most part, the Tunisian specialties that I was offered on the menu were mildly flavored: meat cooked till it is rather dry—as in Tajine, the upper

(Continued on p. 487)

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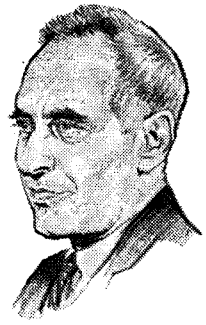
The Right and Duty of Self-Defense

PRINCIPLES & HERESIES

Frank S. Meyer

THE PRESENT state of affairs in our great cities raises one of the most fundamental problems in political philosophy in the most immediately practical way: the right of self-defense when civil society fails to protect the individual.



Meyer

The most divergent moral and political theories of the West agree that all men possess the inherent right of self-defense when their lives, their persons or their property are forcefully or violently attacked. Under normal conditions of civil peace, that right is, as it were, yielded to the juridical and police organs of the state in order that men may be protected without the constant need of each individual's maintaining his own continual self-protection. But when civil order breaks down, it is all but universally agreed that the right of self-defense reverts to the individual.

I would not, of course, maintain that civil order has completely disappeared in our major cities, but any honest appraisal of the situation as it actually is can only lead to the conclusion that it has partially done so. We are not in what theorists call "a state of nature," in which no law or order exists, but we are, although in civil society, in a situation where too often civil society cannot protect us. Although there exists, in John Locke's phrase, "a common superior," civil authority, to which we can theoretically appeal for defense against the attacker, more and more frequently men and women find themselves in circumstances where their lives and their persons are in danger, with that authority effectively unavailable. It is this condition Locke describes:

"But force, or a declared design of force upon the Person of another, where there is no common Superior on Earth to appeal to for relief, *is the State of War*: And 'tis the want of such an appeal gives a Man the Right of War even against an *aggressor*, though he be in Society and a fellow Subject." (*The Second Treatise of Government*, Sec 19.)

Daily we see crimes of violence mount. Every year mob actions, whether inspired by ideology or by the senseless savagery of amoral teenagers, become more common. Yet at this very time our lemming-like leaders proceed to raise a clamor against the means by which individuals can protect themselves. The right of citizens to bear arms, as old as the Republic and older, comes under attack, as the agitation for a firearms control bill gains momentum. When a girl defends herself with a knife against rape and murder, the District Attorney's office seriously considers indicting *her*. When the Maccabees in New York City organize patrols to defend their women and children, they are castigated as vigilantes.

THE LIBERAL theory is that criminal violence is the product of "underprivileged" environments, and that the only thing to do about it is to improve the environment. The Liberal theory is wrong, but even if it were right, it would take a very long time —granted the Utopian dream that it could ever be done—to transform the situation. Meanwhile the citizens of our great cities continue to face violence and terror in their daily lives.

Nor is the usual conservative response adequate. Conservatives say—and, unlike the Liberals, they are fundamentally right—that the underlying cause of criminal violence is the breakdown of moral standards. There is no question but that a permanent solution of the crisis of crime and violence will be found only in revitalization of the Western ethos, but this is no solution to the immediate problem. A renascence of the West is not something that can be achieved without long and desperate struggle. Some conservatives who recognize this would attempt to restore order by increasing the numbers and power of the police, and there is much to be said for such a course, provided the safeguards of the individual against irresponsible government action are maintained. Nevertheless that alone will not be enough.

WHEN the standards of morality are broken down, when individual criminals are coddled by the courts, when mass violence is condoned, indeed praised as a civic duty, at the heights of American society, a spirit of disorder is let loose that police measures alone can never control. Order is maintained in a society primarily by the moral outlook of the citizens; the function of the police under such circumstances is to handle the criminal exception to that outlook. When, however, criminality is no longer an exception but becomes endemic in whole groups of the population, it is then more than the police alone can handle.

Self-defense today has become not only a right but a duty. I can hear alarmed cries of "vigilanteism," but the measures that need to be taken can be taken in full cooperation with official law-enforcement agencies. It is time and more than time that—whether through hiring of private policemen or the volunteering of individual citizens—our streets, our parks, our apartment houses, our schools should be guarded by widespread private patrols. Rather than talk of government control of firearms, private citizens should be encouraged to arm themselves. Laws like the Sullivan Law in New York state should be repealed. They hamper the criminal very little, but throw masses of bureaucratic red tape in the path of citizens who want to protect themselves, their families and their homes.

It is sad indeed that our country has fallen on such evil days. But fortunately the remedy exists—enunciated by the philosophers of the West, guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States—the inherent right of self-defense.

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FROM THE ACADEMY

Roman Holidays For Students

RUSSELL KIRK

THE POPULAR magazines are full, nowadays, of lurid accounts of "sexual orgies" among college students. Though one may discount somewhat the reports of societies on the campus for "sexual freedom," it remains true that a great deal of silliness about the purpose and pleasures of sexual relationship prevails today among students—and professors also, too often.

An able young professor at a good private university sends me the following enlightening comments:

Kirk

"I must confess that popular attitudes regarding sex have changed so drastically just in my lifetime that I find myself unable to adjust to, let alone accept these sudden innovations—or, as you say, this reversion to the 'Old Immorality.' At a student discussion of such topics that I attended recently, along with other members of the faculty, the girls left me absolutely flabbergasted. They talked freely and openly about 'sleeping with our boy friends,' and were troubled by the fact that they were uncertain as to whether they intended to marry them. Many complained about 'antiquated regulations' and 'outmoded Puritan codes' which made it impossible for some and difficult for all to obtain contraceptives—thus 'thwarting the full development of our personalities.'

"All seemed to favor abortion, which in my ancient household was regarded as murder. I had the impression that I was sitting in on a rehearsal for *Brave New World,* to be put on by the local drama club. Being a minority of one, I tended to swallow my protest, and was too busy catching my breath to utter a word. I continue to walk as if I were in a dream."

My friend's impressions of the decay of normative consciousness, among students, in this realm, are confirmed by many observers of the campus of this decade. Take this passage from Mr. John Keats' admirable book *The Sheepskin Psychosis:*

> The dominant student and faculty opinion is that each student has the right to decide whether to engage in sexual intercourse, and that if a boy and girl are in love, they ought to go to bed together. On the other hand, the overwhelming opinion of college deans and psychiatrists is that most undergraduates are emotionally unready for coitus, and that they should therefore not engage in it.

But college authorities, their own apprehension of normality enfeebled by a generation of American permissivism, often do little to discourage actions which they consider mistaken and mischievous. A few days ago, this commentator conversed with a tolerant and rather witty widow who has become a housemother to a fraternity at a large Midwestern state university. She finds it difficult to maintain even the outward decencies in the house which she is supposed to chaperone; and, *sub rosa,* the college authorities tell her to absent herself from the fraternity house when there approaches any prospect of general impropriety. Were she to lodge a complaint in official quarters, founded upon charges against individual students, the college authorities simply would close the fraternity house, obliterating guilty and innocent at one blow, to preserve the college's "public image."

'Peer Group' Arbiters

Such abdication of responsibility by college administrators—and, commonly, by students' parents—delivers the average collegian to the domination of their "peer group" arbiters of taste and morality. (Most human beings always have acquired their moral habits from emulation and deference; and, nature abhorring a vacuum, if students have no strong good personalities to emulate, they must defer to strong corrupt personalities.) Thus, in dormitories or fraternities, often the general attitude toward sexual conduct is determined by the more reckless, unscrupulous, and "worldly" students. In the phrase of Yeats,

> *The best lack all conviction, while the worst*
> *Are full of passionate intensity.*

The fraternity housemother whom I mention above remarked to me that of the 35 men in her house, about five are genuine students; the rest have come to college for the fun and games, or to escape the draft, or for lack of anything better to do. Most of them have plenty of money to spend, and few serious lessons to prepare, and inadequate previous instruction from their parents. Idle and bored, is it any wonder they turn to sexual diversion, so readily available? When the campus has become principally a carnival, it is only a short remove from the bawdy-house.

Jaded Grads?

Mere exhortation will not remedy this folly. "The girls are worse than the boys at the 'mattress parties,'" my friend the housemother told me. With us, at the moment, was a youngish professor who once was a military intelligence officer and knows much of the world's ways. "How jaded those girls will be, when they graduate!" he murmured. "Life will seem to have no future."

Colleges exist primarily to make possible academic leisure. But that leisure is not supposed to be idleness, and it *is* supposed to be academic, rather than sybaritic. When colleges have lost any clear apprehension of their ethical end (which is attained through an intellectual means); when the professors have sunk into a disintegrated Liberalism that teaches merely "do as you will"; when the students, or most of them, have no genuine intellectual interests or aspirations—why, need we be surprised that Behemoth State University (formerly Dismal Swamp Teachers College) slides mindlessly into the "orgie-porgie" of *Brave New World?*

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The Legacy of Richard Weaver

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Eliseo Vivas, in his introduction to this posthumous selection of Richard Weaver's essays, tells us that Weaver was a man of inviolable reserve. Vivas knew him well for many years and yet never got to know him well at all. The invisible armor with which such men enclose themselves sometimes vanishes when they sit down to write; they can reveal to their readers what they would never reveal to their friends. But Richard Weaver's defenses remain impermeable. His personality is scarcely allowed to peep through the cool close texture of his reasoning.

The eight essays in this volume are quite disconnected. One appeared originally in NATIONAL REVIEW, several in *Modern Age*. They are samples, rather than an epitome or a conspectus, of Weaver's work. They show the well-ordered quality of his mind, but not the shape of his philosophy, let alone what fires burned below.

One essay, however, "Up from Liberalism," is autobiographical. Weaver describes himself as an undergraduate, "gloomy, ardent, stupid," arriving at the University of Kentucky, which was staffed almost exclusively by social democrats. "I had no defenses whatever against their doctrine," he says, "and by the time I was in my third year I had been persuaded entirely that the future was with science, Liberalism, and equalitarianism, and that all opposed to these trends were people of ignorance or malevolence."

He joined the American Socialist Party, became secretary of the "local"; and, from then on, was steadily disillusioned. He discovered that he "could not like the members as *persons*," whereas he did like the right-wing Agrarian philosophers he met as a graduate student at Vanderbilt. He came to the very un-Marxist, but very wise, conclusion that "perhaps the right way to judge a movement was by the people who made it up." To this revelation was added a depth of historical understanding born from a special study of the Civil War—a study not of what historians thought the war meant but of what the people involved had thought it meant, particularly the people on the losing side. "Perhaps our education would be more humane," he suggests, "if everyone were required to gain an intimate acquaintance with some coherent ideal that failed in the effort to maintain itself." Sympathetic study of lost causes is far more liberating than the Whig view which sees history as a record of how the worthiest survived.

Life Without Prejudice, by Richard Weaver. Regnery, $4.50

By the time he was thirty Weaver had broken clear of the conventional leftist box. His instincts were libertarian, and, as he says, "it requires only a little experience in politics or publishing for one to learn that the enemies of freedom today are the radicals and the militant Liberals . . . Anyone who has contended with Marxists and their first cousins, the totalitarian Liberals, knows that they have no intention of giving the conservative alternative a chance to compete with their doctrines for popular acceptance. If by some accident they are compelled physically to listen, it is with indifference or contempt because they really consider the matter a closed question—that is, no longer on the agenda of discussable things."

He saw that what makes these Liberals so dangerous, "and in a sense demented," is their determination to get control of the state and force everybody to conform with their dream. His realization of this danger, and his reading of history, brought him to see that constitutions were not, as a pure democrat might suppose (and British schoolchildren are liable to be taught), mere "curious encumbrances." On the contrary, "a constitution is more to be revered for what it prohibits than for what it authorizes. A constitution is a protection against that kind of arbitrary interference to which government left to itself is prone."

American political wisdom, he believed, was at its height over a century and a half ago when the Constitution of the United States was framed. The Founding Fathers were "educated hardheads" without a trace of mush in their thinking: and this was just the quality to which Weaver himself aspired.

He disposed of cant with a ruthless efficiency reminiscent of those machines which squash old automobiles into little cubes of metal. In the title-essay, for example, he quickly demonstrates that many of the beliefs which their enemies stigmatize as "prejudice" are in fact more soundly based than others which pass muster as "reasoned." He will have nothing to do with the flattery which modern courtiers pay to King Public, or with the easy phrase-making which tries to be all things to all men. He declines to believe that a tobacco's aroma can be simultaneously "mild" and "rich" or that a politician's views can be "Liberal-conservative" or that

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acts of war should be described as "peace-keeping."

He knows that "dangers are always best met at the frontier." The Thin End of the Wedge Argument, far from being jejune, has proved frighteningly true, time and again in recent years; the thick end follows the thin end as inevitably as the sun rises. Weaver warned against letting the state obtrude even the thinnest end of control into the educational system. His warnings might have been sharper and more urgent still if he had known what is now going on in Britain, where the State, having gained control of university finance, increasingly claims the right to influence who and what shall be taught, and where the Labor Government has blatantly set out to destroy all schools which do not fit its egalitarian doctrines.

WEAVER makes short work, not only of John Dewey's "spurious system," but of the half-educated belief that "education" is a panacea. Education has been turned, he says, into "a kind of conjuror's word, which is expected to work miracles by the very utterance. If politics becomes selfish and shortsighted, the cure that comes to mind is 'education.' If juvenile delinquency is rampant, 'education' is expected to provide the remedy. If the cultural level of popular entertainment declines, 'education' is thought of hopefully as the means of arresting the downward trend. People expect to be saved by a word when they cannot even give content to the word."

As an intellectual, although a remarkably sensible one, he has a tendency to use the word "culture" in a rather similar way himself. He gives instances of the hostility which totalitarian regimes display towards cultural freedom, quoting remarks such as François Babeuf's "Let all the arts perish if only we can have equality": but he perhaps overrates the importance of cultural activity in most people's lives. The Duke of Rutland's celebrated couplet,

Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die,
But leave us still our old nobility!

is really, from its somewhat peculiar standpoint, a much more normal, and I sometimes think healthier, attitude: or, in the words of a British army commander, "Damn your writing, mind your fighting."

But, while Weaver overrates culture from one point of view, he underrates its importance from another. He says, for example, that the Communists, because they regard culture as merely a by-product of an underlying economic reality, do not take it seriously. In fact, however, they take it much more seriously than the West; which is why they control it so rigorously. Plato in *The Republic* says that when harmful poets come to town, we should thank them nicely, crown them with garlands and ask them please to go somewhere else. Having seen the influence on our society, particularly on young intellectuals, of the poets and playwrights who have been fashionable since the last war, I begin to think he may have been right.

I should have liked to discuss the question with Richard Weaver. It is a mark of this book's strength that it opens conversations. If Weaver were here today, there are a dozen minor points I would want to raise—his classification of Fascism as a right-wing, rather than a left-wing, heresy; his use of the words "reactionary" and "negative" which seem to me to have no place in an honest vocabulary; his assertion that politicians no longer promise anything affirmative but merely promise "to *try* to keep things from collapsing completely," which I should have thought, my ears still ringing from the recent British election campaign, simply untrue. And, more importantly, I should like to ask him why, since he knows that all opinions are not of equal worth, and that (in Blake's words) "one law for the lion and the ox is oppression," he believes democracy to be a particularly fair form of government.

THE ANSWERS cannot be guessed from this book, because there is too little of Weaver in it; or at least, too little of Weaver comes out of it. There are no jokes, for instance. Did he never laugh? I wish he could have given us more of himself. But in leaving us these essays and his handful of other books, he has provided the most heartening of legacies: evidence that a man may start out in life as an orthodox Liberal of the worst kind, taught by Liberals and surrounded by Liberals, and yet emerge, before too many seasons have passed, as a splendid conservative, well equipped to teach and, like a one-man army, to surround others.

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Moscow-Brewed LSD

EUGENE LYONS

A STRONG MAN sits in the midst of his mortal enemies while they revile him and discuss plans for his annihilation, but being totally deaf he "bows and smiles at whatever they may say." This is the striking image of the West, and the United States in particular, evoked by Louis Francis Budenz in his new book, *The Bolshevik Invasion of the West.*

In a somewhat disorganized yet persuasive recital of events in the last 30-odd years, since American diplomatic recognition of the USSR, he shows that the deafness—and blindness as well—have been self-induced, to sustain a comforting euphoria and evade the realities of the Communist challenge. Moscow and Peking have spoken openly of their major objective with respect to the United States: "slitting the American throat or getting it to perform that ceremony itself." They have demonstrated their unswerving commitment to this purpose in action. But we have deliberately closed our ears and eyes to the distressing sounds and sights. We are forever discerning "thaws," moods of moderation, symptoms of "convergence" of the two worlds, to justify policies of conciliation, concession and appeasement.

Budenz describes how, a generation ago, self-styled experts with the fervid backing of most of our press and the connivance of our statesmen convinced the country that Mao Tse-tung and his armies were benign "agrarian reformers." In recent years the equivalent falsehood, with the *New York Times* leading the phalanxes of confusion, helped impose totalitarian Communism on Cuba. Yet the truth about Mao's and Castro's real intentions had been easily accessible in Communist publications and directives.

China and Cuba, surrendered to the enemy through Communist deception, our self-delusions, and pervasive ignorance in the West, are merely typical of a continuing situation, Budenz makes clear. In recent years the Moscow-made slogan of "peaceful coexistence" has been no less blinding and even more disastrous in its effects than the formula of "agrarian reformers." This, despite overwhelming evidence in the speeches of Red leaders and articles in the Red press that the slogan is merely "the up-to-date blueprint for victory over capitalism"—a beguiling cover for the enemy's "wars of liberation." Some of the very same "experts" who sold us on the Jeffersonian democracy of Chinese Communists are today being paraded in the U.S. Senate and on television to sell us on accommodation with the police-state they helped bring into being. An engineer whose bridges or buildings have collapsed must look for other employment, but political specialists like John K. Fairbank, Edgar Snow, Owen Lattimore, Walter Lippmann *et al.* seem to thrive on their historic blunders.

It is Budenz's thesis, amply supported by quotations, that the true goals, strategies and even immediate tactics of the Red leadership are spelled out not only in the "classics" of their movement, from Lenin through Stalin and Mao, but in the "living Communism" of the *World Marxist Review* and *International Affairs,* down to the national organs like *The Worker.* Why self-important Kremlinologists and opinion-makers steadfastly disdain these primary sources, preferring to rely on their own ruminations, is a mystery which Budenz can explain only in terms of a kind of Freudian death wish—the *Suicide of the West* recently documented by James Burnham.

This stubborn American and Western refusal to confront the facts, Budenz says, has enabled the Communists to treat our world "as though it were a conglomeration of country bumpkins." The Western mind is skilfully infiltrated and manipulated. Communist directives percolate down—from Red publications through the crypto-Communist press, then to the

The Bolshevik Invasion of the West, by Louis Francis Budenz. Bookmailer. $6.00

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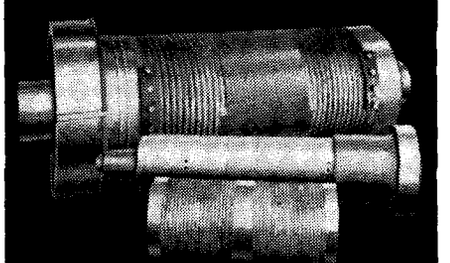

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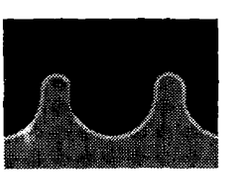

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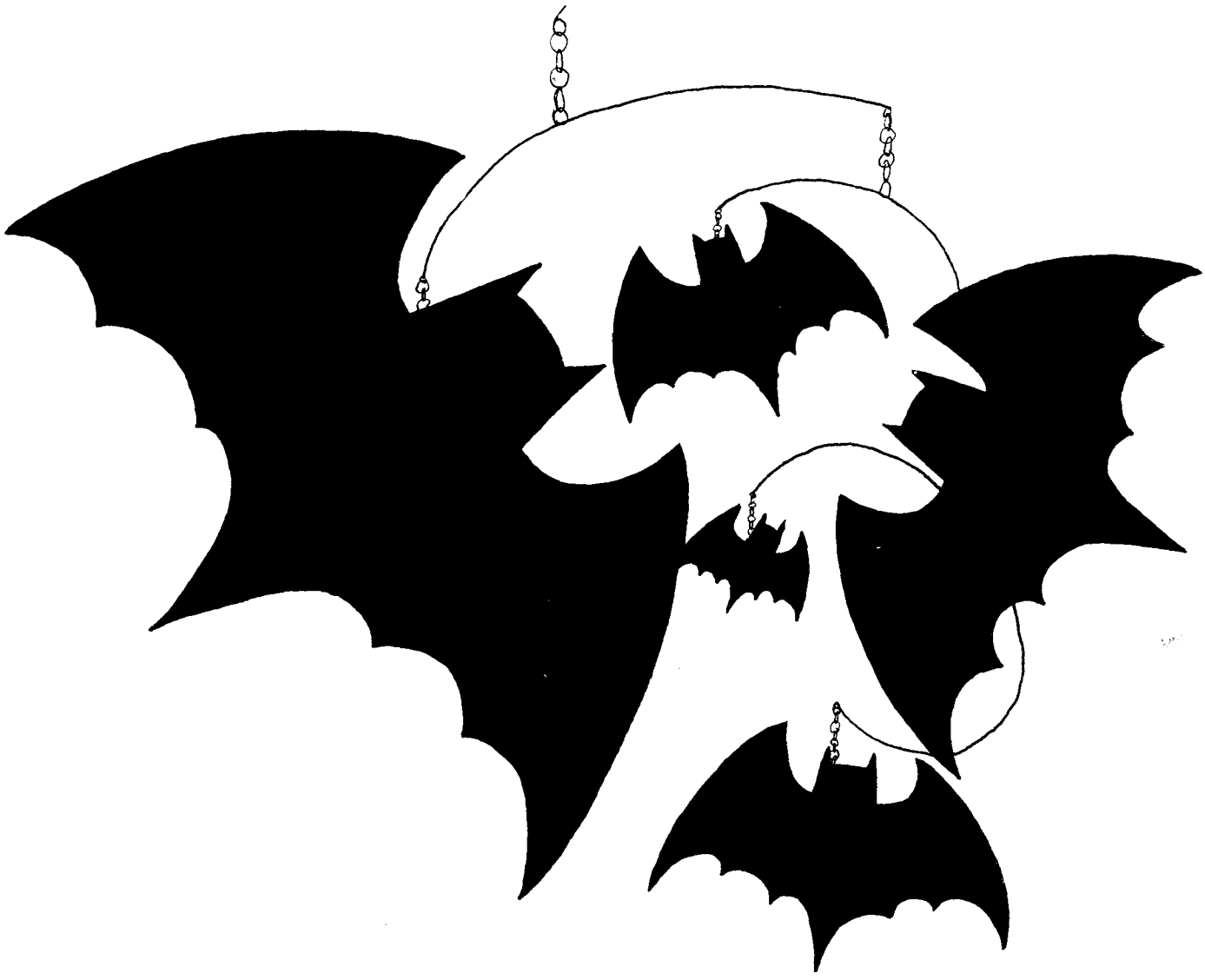

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Liberal community, finally to the general press, the radio media and official spokesmen—until they emerge as seemingly independent Western opinion and policy.

The wishful thinking induced by Moscow-brewed drugs is immune to mere experience. Dazzled by "peaceful coexistence," we proceed to "build bridges" to Communist regimes over the heads of their subjects and victims. Thrilled by the Sino-Soviet split (in which Budenz sees elements of plain hoax to disorient the West), we see hallucinations of a coming Soviet-American alliance. Revisions in the Soviet and East European economic procedures, desperate and futile attempts to bolster decaying "socialist" systems, are gleefully hailed here as a retreat to free enterprise and thus another excuse for "building bridges." Although Moscow and its puppets were proclaiming support of the Vietcong and implementing it with military aid, Kosygin's journey to Hanoi last year was greeted here as a portent of peace through Moscow intercession. Through the Fulbrights, the Kennans, the Lattimores, the Lippmanns, the American people "are being spoonfed with the gruel of appeasement" and led "to gaze hopefully at Moscow to rescue them from the 'Vietnam mess.'"

The Kremlin, Budenz believes, is now trying "for the biggest plum of all": active collaboration of the free-economy nations in salvaging the tottering Communist economies through aid, trade, credits and gifts of Western technology to the Communists. This goal, he writes, was set openly and explicitly at a Communist meeting in Moscow in June 1963, but the Western press and Kremlinologists chose to ignore it. As if mesmerized, American opinion responded precisely as Moscow planned. Exactly one year after the Moscow line was set forth, the *New York Herald Tribune* could report that "Wall Street has approved the growing trade with Communist countries, one of the fruits of peaceful coexistence, and has been nervous about what the fighting in Vietnam might do to this trade."

That the West is greedily swallowing the bait of trade with Communists, in the name of "peace" and "convergence," is too obvious to be doubted. But this reviewer and many readers will disagree with Budenz's conviction that the villains of the piece are "our financial-industrial rulers," the "Morgan-Rockefeller interests," "Wall Street," etc. Curiously, he seems to accept Communist theories on "monopoly capitalism." He goes to the length, indeed, of crediting the invading Bolsheviks with convincing us "to take a more critical attitude toward monopoly capitalists" and avers that "every member of the American community should have as zealous a desire to curb the monopoly capitalists as Moscow professes." This is a startling oversimplification, refuted by the rest of his book and by the array of fine books exposing the nature and methods of Communism he has written in the past. The fact is that Big Business, whatever its sins, has followed rather than led the in-

RANDOM NOTES

● Of War, Warriors and Such: Capt. Edward L. Beach, USN, tells all about *The Wreck of the Memphis* and the subsequent court-martial of his father, skipper of the ill-fated cruiser (Holt, August, $5.95). . . . Those fierce little fighters from wherever-it-is East of Suez are the subject of *The Gurkhas,* by Harold James and Denis Sheil-Small (Stackpole, $6.95). . . . Equally fierce must have been Geula Cohen, who recalls the good old days when she belonged to the Stern Gang in *Woman of Violence* (Holt, July, $5.95). . . . The U.S.-Canadian First Special Service Force, which did well in World War II, has its story told in *The Devil's Brigade,* by Robert H. Aldeman and Col. George Walton (Chilton, $4.95). . . . For espionage fans, there's *The Case of Richard Sorge* by F.W. Deakin and G.R. Story (Harper, $6).

On less ferocious subjects, we have Alan Abel telling of his masterful "Society for Indecency to Naked Animals" ploy in *The Great American Hoax* (Trident, June, $4.95); a revised Silver Anniversary edition of Lesley Bird Simpson's *Many Mexicos* (California, $7.50); and two dollops of nostalgia: Dee Brown's *The Year of the Century,* about America in 1876 (Scribners, June, $7.50) and Peter Laslett's *The World We Have Lost,* recalling England before the Industrial Revolution (Scribners, $5.95). . . . Sf fans will welcome paperback publication of Sam Moskowitz' *Explorers of the Infinite,* about shapers of the craft (Meridian, $1.35).

● Public Enterprise: An energetic gentleman named Nicholas Silia Jr. has two interesting pots on the stove. He plans to publish Albert Jay Nock's *Free Speech and Plain Language,* long unavailable, and has also compiled, introduced and transcribed into English Braille a collection of essays from the *Freeman.* The collection, *Omnibus of Liberty,* is available to the sightless on loan from the Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington, New York.

● Movies are Better Than Never: A live-action film of *Peter Pan* may get underway, now that a British court has squelched Walt Disney's challenge and decreed that London's Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children, which inherited rights from J. M. Barrie, is entitled to license the production. Mel Ferrer wishes to produce, with George Cukor directing and Audrey Ferrer starring. . . . *Camelot* grinds to a start, with Joshua Logan signed to direct. . . . Stanley Kramer and Columbia have postponed *Andersonville*—for a year, they claim. . . . Rudy Vallee and Robert Morse, co-stars of the Broadway original, have signed to repeat their roles in the film of *How To Succeed in Business Etc.* Producer-director-writer David Swift plans to start shooting in May. . . . A screen musical version of *The Private Life of Henry the Eighth* is in the works, with lyrics by Richard Rodgers, book by Peter Ustinov and, likely, monarch by Ustinov as well. . . . Chandelle Productions (recall the fuss over their plans for a film on the Janice Wylie killing) now talks of a semi-documentary on the Mossler trial. Candace talks of suing.

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tellectual, political and moral forces of self-befuddlement, subversion and appeasement.

Despite this stricture on one aspect of his analysis, the latest Budenz book is a valuable addition to anti-Communist literature in our country. In the light of his years as a leading Communist in the past, he casts himself in the role of "a sinner doing penance." The *Bolshevik Invasion of the West* will weigh heavily in the scales in any accounting of his political and intellectual career.

Science Fiction

A Brace, 3 Singles, and a 10-Strike

THEODORE STURGEON

A JOY TO BEHOLD is Vonnegut's *Player Piano*, years ahead of its time in 1952, reissued in handsome hardback just as the times catch up. Blackly humorous, extraordinarily well-written, bitter, funny, and sharp, this major first novel by a clique-making major writer will not now be forgotten. The title, by the way, describes automation. . . . Quite the ugliest novel to cross this desk in this continuum is *Earthworks*, Aldiss' first-person account of a crack-pated victim of himself and his world is a believable nightmare. His description of conditions in a twenty-first century with 22 billion people in it is also. The one being hero of the other, he generates a credible complex of horror which makes a healthy point: all we have to do to give our children this future is to give our future enough children. Read it and think. . . . Otto Klement, producer, author, and agent, and Jerome Bixby, deft, sometimes brilliant sf author, dreamed up the gee-whiz idea of saving the life of a save-the-nation scientist by sub-subminiaturizing a crew of specialists aboard a sub(sub?) marine, and cruising through the patient's bloodstream to locate and destroy a bloodclot deep in the brain. We are told that their screenplay has been raised to truly remarkable quality by special effects. Now comes the genial Dr. Asimov, turning the screenplay into a novel. Dutifully he includes the movie's subsubplots (Which one is a spy? and Will the hero get the Beautiful Girl Scientist?) but never mind that: few people on earth are as knowledgeable about as many sciences as Dr. A, or explicate them so well, and here he has a dozen disciplines to handle. It's absolutely fascinating.

Player Piano, by Kurt Vonnegut Jr. Holt, $4.95

Earthworks, by Brian W. Aldiss. Doubleday, $3.50

Fantastic Voyage, by Isaac Asimov. Houghton, $3.95

Modern Masterpieces of Science Fiction, and *Seekers of Tomorrow*, by Sam Moskowitz. World. $6.00 each

10th Annual Edition: The Year's Best S-F, Ed. by Judith Merril. Delacorte. $4.95

SF HAS AN unknown but sizable number of silent and appreciative readers, and a more vociferous minority than any other claque in the country, bar none. Surely the most notable—and noticeable—of fen ("in" plural of 'fan') is the doughty Sam Moskowitz (known to fen as SaM), a burly bibliophile whose voice would make Stentor himself sound like The Shadow, and whose activity as fan club organizer and officer, sf historian, editor, anthologist, and gadfly for the past thirty years or so is simply awesome. World has just released two ingeniously complementary books by SaM.

Modern Masterpieces of Science Fiction is a thesis-like introduction and a carefully selected anthology to prove it out. The 23 stories by 23 different authors exemplify SaM's carefully defined and hard-held "sense of wonder," and at the same time demonstrate his version of the development of the field over the past three decades. It would seem to be a pretty good way to make an anthology. Most of the stories really are masterpieces in some respect—in originality of concept, in their proven influence on later writers, and a few (these are few anywhere) in literary merit. They are

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written by big names in the field, from E. E. "Doc" Smith to Philip José Farmer. I actively disliked only one of them.*

Seekers of Tomorrow consists of the biographies of the same 23 writers, plus two more chapters, one on "Superman" Mort Weisinger, old-time, old-line editor, and the other on a number of other authors SaM approves and disapproves. He lays out his opinions as he lays out his opponents, with heavy hands. He finds the demise of pulp-style stories (to fill the gap between the comic book and the more erudite, lit'ry sf) unforgivable. He asserts, and then mourns, that sf "went sophisticated in 1952." He never mentions emergent giants like Cordwainer Smith, Roger Zelazny, and J. G. Ballard, and gives Brian Aldiss the back of his hand. For all that, SaM's vitality lies in his positiveness, and if at times he seems unleavened, starting fist fights is yeasting enough. As to the body of

the book, the biographies, they are well-knit and interesting, and the linkage to the other volume was a bright idea indeed. I will laud SaM for one thing; by and large he avoids psychoanalytical conclusions about his subjects; when he is tempted into this area he is usually respectful. There is an introduction and an index.

FOR TEN YEARS Judith Merril has been compiling an annual "best" of science fiction, and it would come close to the mark to say that for nine years and eleven months they have been the best of all "bests." The competition has increased in number and quality in the decade, but not at the rate, nor in so many ways, as Miss Merril's. Her approach is erudite, warm, and articulate and, happily, she has added more and more Merril to her volumes of other people's work.

*And I have since the day I wrote it.

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With thoughtful, informative, and at times provocative rubrics between the stories, she gives us more titles (36) from more sources (most of the sf magazines, plus *Playboy, Harper's, Saga,* the *Socialist Call*—with one by James T. Farrell!—and others, and translations from Hebrew, Spanish, and the Czech) than ever before. There is of course her wise and witty Summary of the state of the art, and her list of Honorable Mentions. (I would like to grant highest honors of all to one story in the book especially: Roger Zelazny's strong and beautiful *A Rose for Ecclesiastes;* few stories I have ever read have had quite this subjective impact.)

Miss Merril's crowning virtue is her catholicity. She goes very far afield to find the best there is, and splits no definitions. You'll find long ones, short ones, *science* fiction, science *fiction,* pure fantasy, satire, a poem or so and out-and-out unclassifiables. So far this book is without question *my* choice for best of the year, and I very much doubt that anything will be along to change my mind.

Movies

The Group Minus Mary

ARLENE CROCE

Miss Mary McCarthy is fond of making the point that novels are made of gossip, and equally fond of supporting it in her own practice as a novelist. Her fiction is all *à clef,* but the cast of Characters I Have Known yields few absorbing and authentic characterizations. Nothing is duller than incessant talk of people one doesn't know, won't meet or, having met, couldn't care less for; and the souls of real people, even those of elegant reputation, are rarely to be distinguished from Miss McCarthy's meretricious and often uncreative use of them as the inert pulp of scandal. *The Group* is less favored than most McCarthy novels since it is all about eight rather soul-less mediocrities of no reputation whatever. But it survives one's democratic tolerance by appealing powerfully to a contemporary weakness for the immediate past—this great game of What Ever Happened To——?

Why are we interested in the past? Because, says Professor Erwin Panofsky, we are interested in reality. We see a phalanx of marching girls, Class of '33, Today's Woman making way for the New Deal, for Newspeak. *Newsweek* and Newsex. Domestic rather than political, these babes in armor contended with breast-feeding Republicans, drawing room anti-Semites, and Communists more beset by Freud than by Marx; they showed good form under fire but died voting for Willkie, destroyed through the steady post-graduate deterioration of their kind. Less than shattering to read about, often insipid, it has all made rather a good movie.

Where the novel is tired, with a slatternly sprawl to the writing, the film is fresh, arch and appealing. The girls are not as stupid, and eight more or less vivid new actresses make the most of them—several have brilliant chances. As in the book, the eight are about evenly divided between tigers and mice. The tigers are Kay (Joanna Pettet), *parvenue,* determinedly white collar; Libby (Jessica Walter), a frigid careerist; Helena (Kathleen Widdoes), the group's balanced Boswell (but sexually "neuter, like a mule"); and Lakey the Lesbian (Candice Bergen), who goes away at the beginning and returns with a little peal of symbolic thunder at the end. The mice are all the others whose names, mostly beginning with "P," I forget. One of them has the big adventure with the Pessary, with which in the green years before William Burroughs, Jean Genet and Ralph Ginzburg, Miss McCarthy once startled the *Partisan Review* out of its wit. In the movie, needful to say, the episode is a good deal less beady-eyed and unforgiving, and the girl who plays it, Joan Hackett, has an early Katharine Hepburn-*Alice Adams* charm.

Charm, that secondary commodity, is what the movie has oodles of—literate charm, quality magazine charm, Middle High Lending Library

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serious-about-life charm. Since absolutely nothing in the career of director Sidney Lumet except marriage to Gloria Vanderbilt has ever seemed to me to indicate a taste for that sort of thing (masculine thinkmovies starring Henry Fonda as Dag Hammarskjold are more Lumet's line), I suspect it's largely the contribution of writer-producer Sidney Buchman, and that it's largely unconscious. In fact, I suspect Buchman thought he was making a kind of middle class American *Jules and Jim*; he sticks to the text like glue, adds one or two wild surmises, mutes the feline cynicism to fatherly anxiety, and makes the whole thing come out a perfect reproduction of the McCarthy milieu minus her patented impatience with it—that is to say, pathos rather than farce.

It only begins to get silly towards the end, when everyone goes into concentric tailspins—falling out of windows, drowning in drink, coming home queer—but why are the *ends* of movies so often presumed to contain their whole meaning? More upshots are bungled in plays (two famous examples: *Look Back in Anger* and *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*) without inspiring the critics to go off and write shaming exposés in which all the production's graces become sins in disguise. (*"And so we are back with the Hollywood girls-and-how-they-grew nonsense, in all its slickly photographed* [meaning very beautifully photographed in DeLuxe Color by Boris Kaufman] *carefully detailed* [meaning *too* carefully detailed, unhealthily specific], *very well acted* [meaning a pleasant excrescence you're not to be deceived by—this stuff is *always* well acted. Anyway, what's really meant is "very well *cast*"—the two or three fine performances are almost wrecked by Actors Studio histrionics, courtesy of Sidney Lumet] *banality . . . Trotsky-shmotsky, Lesbian- or adultery-wise —any way you slice* The Group *on screen it's the same old baloney about The Girls.*" There! That's Miss Judith Crist of the *New York Herald Tribune* and you can't fool *her*.)

But the movie isn't so easy to dismiss. Buchman, who used to write many of the very movies the Group grew up on (*Mr. Smith Goes to Washington, Here Comes Mr. Jordan, The Talk of the Town*), is, if anything, more sharply critical than is Mary McCarthy of the kind of social and psychological pressures the children of those years submitted to in the name of education, but he doesn't, like McCarthy, make them look foolish doing it. He makes them look dignified or earnest or doomed or perverted or gay. The effect is certainly squarish, but another effect is that the novel's ugly implicit message becomes pitifully open and sincere: marriage is a vice. Men are lice. Lesbians are nice. No less than five of the girls have gruesome experiences with men. The film addresses you with a heart full of worry. The point is, it has a heart.

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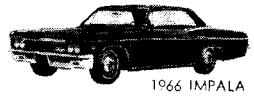

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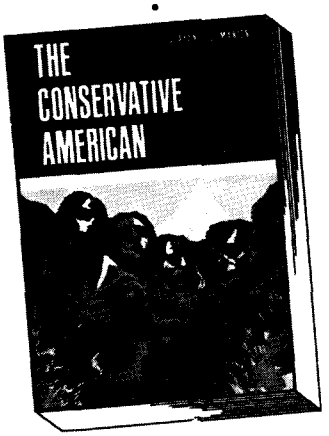

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

BETWEEN THE LINES: *A Reporter's Personal Journey through Public Events,* by Dan Wakefield (New American Library, $5.95). Highly personal, this collection of Mr. Wakefield's pieces, all of them previously published in a range of periodicals from *Dissent* to *Esquire,* would be of the most interest to the author's friends, and also to those who have some professional interest in words and their publication. Many of the friends are bound to be among the professionals. Not a mere scissors-and-paste job, the articles and essays are interspersed with commentary that explains the author's circumstances at the time of writing, the pressures under which he worked, and sometimes his latter-day reflections. This is the book's "between the lines" part; maybe it is the best part. As for the articles themselves, great differences in political and general viewpoint would separate the author and, for instance, this reviewer, but they cannot diminish one's enjoyment. You needn't be a partisan of the radical Left to be moved by the fiftieth anniversary look at the once-feared, once-vibrant IWW. Wakefield has breadth. J. D. Salinger isn't going to remain as important as he seems now, but any writer who can do the essay on him that Wakefield has, as well as illuminate elsewhere the world of the American *nouveaux riches* and the "social secretaries" who pander to them, is more than simply proficient in his craft. G. M. PEPPER

STRATEGY FOR THE AMERICAS, by Joseph W. Reidy (McGraw-Hill, $6.75). The University of Pennsylvania's Foreign Policy Research Institute has given us several valuable studies on the nature of the East-West conflict, and some keen insights on how to win it. Now it has turned its guns on Latin America, and the result, alas, has nothing of the vitality and freshness of previous studies. Instead, *Strategy for the Americas* plods on with pedantic thoroughness through the entire range of U.S.-Latin American problems. "Over-institutionalized" would perhaps best describe Mr. Reidy's effort. Sample: a recommendation for a "study in depth of the requirements for generating an interdependent cycle of rural-urban growth." Mr. Reidy calls for the fuller "Westernization" of Latin America, and expands the Foreign Policy Research Institute's concept of the Atlantic Community into an "Atlantic Triangle" in which Europe and the two Americas become fully integrated members of the Western Community. But when it comes to formulating the "operational ap-

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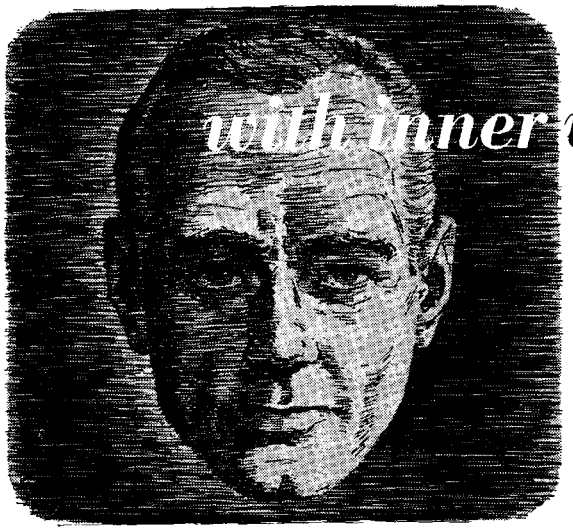
proach" for implementing this laudable objective, the book becomes nothing more than a compendium of oft-repeated proposals from other sources. Reidy would have been far better advised to concentrate on one or two points made in the book (the negative impact in Latin America of our toleration of a Communist regime in Cuba or the unhealthy lack of emphasis on economic productivity in the Alliance for Progress, for instance) than to try and put all the chickens into one coop. Despite one or two high spots, *Strategy for the Americas* is a poor buy at $6.75. J. B. BENDER

MYTHS OF CREATION, by Philip Freund (Washington Square Press, $4.95). Freund, whose long suit is fiction, here provides a delightful, diverting survey of virtually every theory put forth to explain the origin of world and cosmos—from the primal egg of the Hindus to the primal atom of Abbé Lemaitre, with countless stops between. There is perhaps a bit too much information for so brief a book: one tends to fuddle along behind while the author leaps athletically from culture to culture, finding and displaying all manner of fascinating recurrences and parallels. Perhaps the most daring parallel is the one drawn between primitive myth and modern astrophysics. Everybody knows that Science employs Method, despite which Science keeps coming up with excitingly romantic explanations-of-it-all. Anyhow, it's fun to leap along with Freund, who (bless him) shuns heavy-handed conclusion-drawing. Remarkable pen and ink drawings by Milton Charles are a pleasant bonus. C. H. SIMONDS

THE FORKED FLAME: *A Study of D. H. Lawrence*, by H. M. Daleski (Northwestern University Press, $9.00). One of the most profitable approaches to Lawrence's novels is through a close textual evaluation, and Daleski has succeeded, through abundant use of quotations, in performing an admirable analysis of the male and female "principles" in the major novels. The frequently illuminating textual examinations in *The Forked Flame* constitute not only its major emphasis but also define the limits of its



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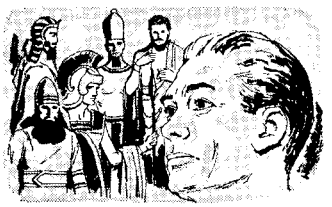

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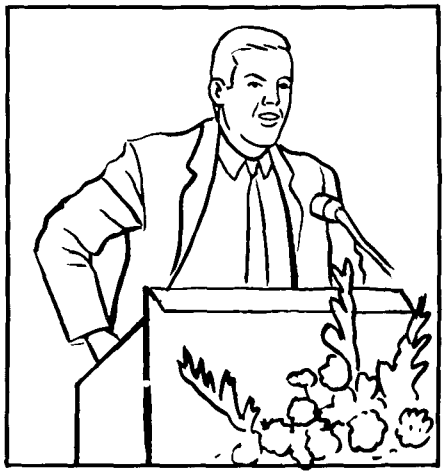

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Virginia Beach, Virginia

success; the few ventures into biography or general criticism lack the insight of the detailed investigations, and the overall organization of Lawrence's work into four chronological periods of release, zenith, nadir, and return largely ignores the development of the theme of sexual dualism in the poetry and in the lesser novels. Perhaps because of his restrictive framework, the book at times deviates from criticism into mere appreciation, as when Daleski, ever the ingenious commentator, overreaches himself in a humorless attempt to justify the scatological diction of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. But despite these minor flaws, Daleski's textual criticism remains a major contribution to the study of D. H. Lawrence. T. K. MEIER

THE RESPONSIBLE ELECTORATE, by V. O. Key Jr. (Harvard, $4.00). A politician's view of the voter ranges from a eulogy to an indictment depending upon the outcome of an election. Victory guarantees the voter's rationality and defeat proves his foolishness. The late Professor Key studied the election patterns in Presidential voting from 1936 to 1960 and concluded that voters tend to follow certain patterns. His method divided the electorate into three general groups: Standpatters, Switchers and New Voters. The first consists of the party faithful who tend to stay with the party even when their preferences incline in the other direction. It is the second and third groups who compose the balance of power in any election. Key's statistical analysis shows that these voters do display a rational preference in policy matters and are not pliable material for Madison Avenue's techniques. The politician will not accept Key's thesis as a universal. His experience in the wards still gives him reason to suspect that there are non-rational forces at work and that these forces may be decisive. However, Key does support those who want to put policy discussion back in campaigns. His concluding remarks on the 1960 campaign were words of prophecy: "But the odds are that the relative importance and the strength of the relationships between switching and policy preferences would have been considerably greater if Barry Goldwater, not Richard Nixon, had been the Republican Presidential nominee in 1960." Were the voters in 1964 rational? R. J. GERSTUNG

IQ: A MENSA ANALYSIS & HISTORY, by Victor Serebriakoff (Mensa, $4.70; paper, $2.80). Despite its title, this book by the General Secretary of Mensa (the international organization open to people in the top 2 per cent IQ bracket) is less about Mensa than psychometrics in general and high IQs in particular. Writing as an Englishman, he takes a dim view of the British trend towards educational egalitarianism and looks with transatlantic favor on the American Gifted Children's Movement and similar acknowledgements of competence in children. In several crisply argued chapters, Mr. Serebriakoff pleads the case for the gifted, demonstrating the necessity, both for society and the individual, of separate classes for bright boys and girls. His conclusions will not please the pseudo-democratic zealots of the Education Establishment, but they are welcome confirmations of the ideas of such men as Hyman Rickover (although surprisingly the Admiral's works are not in the bibliography). Conservatives, especially libertarians, may well take amiss some of Serebriakoff's views, especially his chapter "A Code for the Intelligent" and his heavy emphasis on "society's needs" as a criterion for liberating the bright individual. Nevertheless, they will enjoy this heuristic book.

J. D. KIRWAN

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (MAY 3)

Robert C. Wilson

THE GREAT SOCIETY:

If the Great Society has its way —it's going to subsidize the arts, desalinize the oceans, sanitize the streams, fertilize the flowers, federalize education, subsidize rents, socialize medicine, generalize transportation, unionize workers, computerize the armed services, and chastise everyone who dares to criticize.

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Description of a wife who is loaded.	11 19 142 38 2 51 136
B. Name of cities made famous by Eastman and Maya.	3 200 68 105 52 45 143 151 39
C. City made famous by William Allen White.	14 56 180 63 53 90 12
D. A big league baseball team.	73 173 156 54 79 147 164 174 162 124 193 183 93
E. British woman novelist.	36 5 192 55 160 28 154 186 69
F. Former name of John Cabot's patron.	29 120 75 96 86 94 20 61
G. Name of cities in Greece and New York.	189 76 132 4 148 57
H. City in the Buckeye State.	22 157 40 190 165 194 13 106 163 185 70 137 85 77
I. City in Wisconsin.	59 138 159 71 21 175 133
J. One who makes alphabetical symbols.	72 176 134 139 191 58 195 78
K. Shrewdly discerning and sagacious.	1 110 81 188 131 60
L. A tributary of the Delaware.	166 130 23 41 121 82

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
M. City in California.	33 74 117 7 42 177 113 26 87 125
N. A firth.	48 135 8 146 126 107 99
O. A bunch of flowers or herbs.	201 24 171 149 43 15 114
P. City in Mexico (sounds like a Spanish aunt).	62 127 46 145 170 155 88 161
Q. A type of "practical" joke	65 25 47 27 91 100 111
R. Therefore.	83 115 30 118
S. City in Maryland.	119 49 167 64 31 141 158 178 116
T. A character in II Henry VI.	123 84 109 92
U. Type of writer.	103 129 140 16 198
V. Type of narcotic	104 144 50 179 199 152 66
W. Painful emotions of fear.	112 169 32 98 10 196 67
X. An island and a mountain in Australia.	44 101 108 184 34 17 6 89
Y. A region in central Arabia.	80 9 187 128
Z. City in Wisconsin.	150 35 18 181 102 122 197 168
a. Exhausted of fertility.	97 95 182 153 37 172

							1 K		2 A	3 B	4 G	5 E	6 X	7 M	8 N	9 Y
	10 W	11 A		12 C	13 H		14 C	15 O	16 U	17 X	18 Z	19 A	20 F		21 I	22 H
23 L	24 O	25 Q	26 M		27 Q	28 E	29 F		30 R	31 S	32 W	33 M	34 X		35 Z	36 E
37 a	38 A	39 B	40 H	41 L	42 M	43 O		44 X	45 B		46 P		47 Q	48 N	49 S	50 V
51 A	52 B	53 C		54 D	55 E	56 C	57 G	58 J	59 I	60 K	61 F		62 P	63 C		64 S
65 Q	66 V		67 W	68 B	69 E	70 H	71 I	72 J		73 D	74 M	75 F	76 G	77 H	78 J	
79 D	80 Y		81 K	82 L	83 R		84 T	85 H	86 F	87 M	88 P	89 X	90 C	91 Q	92 T	93 D
	94 F	95 a		96 F	97 a	98 W		99 N	100Q	101X	102Z	103U		104V	105B	106H
107N	108X	109T	110K		111Q	112W	113M	114O	115R	116S		117M	118R		119S	120F
121L		122Z	123T	124D		125M	126N	127P	128Y		129U	130L		131K	132G	133I
134J	135N		136A	137H	138I		139J	140U	141S	142A	143B	144V	145P	146N	147D	148G
149O		150Z	151B	152V	153a	154E	155P	156D	157H	158S	159I		160E	161P	162D	163H
	164D	165H	166L	167S		168Z	169W	170P		171O	172a	173D		174D	175I	176J
	177M	178S	179V	180C	181Z	182a	183D	184X	185H	186E	187Y	188K	189G	190H	191J	
192E	193D	194H	195J	196W	197Z	198U	199V	200B	201O							

See page 484 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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LOTUS EATERS

(Continued from p. 470)

leg of the lamb—and softened with an oily sauce. As alternatives there were Briks, a thin pastry wrapped round an egg and fried in boiling oil, and Chakchouka which is *ratatouli* embellished with a fried egg. The meal was rounded off with fruit—oranges, mandarines and dates. I never left the table feeling gorged—yet I was ready for a siesta.

That is the way it was in Djerba. And in a way that was how I had found it, half a lifetime earlier, in Tahiti. In 1927 I sailed back from Tahiti with two English friends who had made a home there. A number of parties were given for them on their return to England and invariably the same question would be asked—"How did you pass the time?" Invariably the same answer would be given: "We'd sit around and bathe and feed the pigeons!" A tourist home from Djerba would give much the same reply: "We sat around and sunbathed and then walked along the beach collecting shells."

A tourist who comes to Djerba expecting to find a Mediterranean Polynesia will be disappointed. Yet, if he is patient and will wait three days, he will find there the kind of peace that I myself have not found anywhere but in Tahiti—a timeless sense of drifting hours against a background of great beauty.

TIME

(Continued from p. 456)

the United States, the Dean of the School of Theology has told his students never to greet other students with: "Have a good Time," because how do we know that there is such a thing as "Time" and much less how would we know it is good? Under the impact of the new secularism, they say: "So long," thus expressing a desire to remain in a longitudinal Space universe, where "Time is Dead."

TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 446)

Mr. Fielding Hobart criticizing me, on the usual ground that they were "National *Socialists*," for including the Nazis in the political Right. I should perhaps explain that I always analyze political developments dynamically, in terms of relationships of forces. From this perspective the Nazis, and fascists generally, are on the Right, just as Communists are on the Left. From another point of view it may be of some interest or relevance to mention similarities between the extremes in verbal program (though these are rather less than Mr. Hobart perhaps imagines); but this has little to do with the changing political equilibrium. Of course, if Mr. Hobart choses to *define* "the Right" as meaning only the Good Guys, and to lump all the Bad Guys, by definition, in "the Left," he can avoid all his worries about bed-mates. At the same time he will prevent himself from understanding much about how politics actually happen.

Antibes JAMES BURNHAM

Splintering the GOP

The Letter to the Editor [April 5] of Mr. Patrick J. Buchanan, "Aide to Mr. Nixon," missed, and you failed to stress enough, a central point in the question of splinter parties and the GOP.

As Barry Goldwater pointed out when queried about the significance of Mr. John Lindsay's election to the GOP: let's wait. After all, he didn't run as a Republican. Lindsay relied very heavily on the Liberal Party of New York, accepting, of course, its nomination and support. His entire campaign was carefully contrived to avoid intimacy with the GOP. Mr. Nixon is correct in saying that "the best interests of conservatives are served by their joining and working within the framework of the Republican Party." One might add, though, if and when a Republican is running!

Buckhannon, W. Va. JOHN F. SCOTT

Quarantine the Addict

Mr. Buckley states [March 22] that an addict cannot in effect be called a criminal due to the Supreme Court's decision (Robinson *vs.* California, 1964), and that it would be objectionable to haul away a man merely because he was an addict; yet that is precisely what he and Mr. Rockefeller propose.

If the state makes addiction a crime, the person still has to be tried and proven guilty. Otherwise a man has been detained involuntarily, and many of those rights set down in the Bill of Rights, on which the foundation of our government grew, have been inexplainably denied him.

La Mirada, Calif. ROBERT R. STOCKBRIDGE
Student,
Administration of Criminal Justice
California State College

Who says it should be made a crime? Is it a crime to contract scarlet fever? Yet people who have the disease are legally quarantined. WFB JR.
(Advanced Student, Criminal Justice)

Murder—Moscow Style

Congratulations to NATIONAL REVIEW and to Mr. Eugene Lyons for the article [March 22] relating to the assassinations of Ukrainian Nationalist leaders in exile, Mr. Lev Rebet and Mr. Stefan Bandera. . . . The Kremlin's suppression of all nationalist movements in the USSR and its murder of Rebet and Bandera shows to what lengths of barbarism Moscow is prepared to go to stifle the just aspirations of the Captive Nations *within* the so-called Soviet Union.

BOHDAN NICHOLAS HORECZKO
Los Angeles, Calif.

NATIONAL REVIEW Magazine and Bulletin

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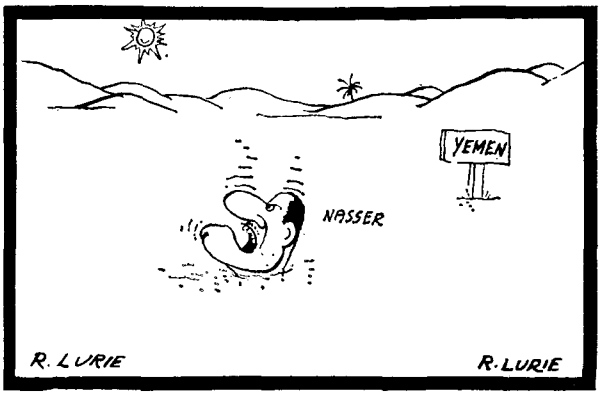
For The Record

Under pressure: Former Gov. Robert Meyner of N.J., to run against Republican Senator Clifford Case. At stake: not so much senatorship—Democrats expect to lose that—but seats of half a dozen freshmen Democratic congressmen who came in on LBJ landslide; could lose out in backwash if Democrats don't field popular senatorial candidate . . . Democratic freshmen congressmen will be getting full support of White House in their tight races. LBJ has given Hubert Humphrey his Sept. and Oct. marching orders—he's to take to the hustings and push hard . . . Politicos interested in watching which candidates HHH will help; which will turn to the Kennedy frères. . . . Aides of Jacob Javits and George Romney already working on possible Romney-Javits combo for the GOP in '68. What about Nixon? No go, says Javits; it would be "ungracious" to run on a ticket with someone about whom Javits has said unfriendly things in the past . . . When UROC (United Republicans of California) last week elected a number of Birchers to important posts, they predictably embarrassed Ronald Reagan who will now be insistently asked for comment.

When Alex Quaison-Sackey, former Pres. of UN General Assembly, returned to Ghana after Nkrumah ouster he was tossed in hoosegow, released, and reincarcerated. Who got him out? Little Johnny Stout, in this case, turns out to have been the U.S. Ambassador to Ghana. Accra sources indicate Quaison-Sackey may have been involved in The Redeemer-type high finance . . . Problem: when Marshal Tito put it to Pres. Nasser last week that it was time for another conference on the non-aligned, Nasser pointed out that of prominent non-aligneds, Nehru was dead, Sukarno in Outsville, Nkrumah in exile, Ben Bella in jail . . .The Swiss Government, in its annual report on world politics, said it would not at this time ask for admission to the UN because membership has more "drawbacks than advantages." (As a neutral in WWII Switzerland was not considered a "peace-loving" nation and hence not invited to join UN at its inception.)

Thomas Mann (#3) has resigned from State Department, George Ball (#2) is asking out. Their replacements will be surest indication of whether State policy in future months will be hawkish or doveish. Mann, a Hard, is not believed to have resigned because of policy differences with Rusk and LBJ . . . Giving it to Fulbright: U.S. Amb. to



Lurie-Yedioth Ahronoth Ben Roth Agency

Brazil, Lincoln Gordon. In recent Senate speech Fulbright said certain Latin American states would probably have to go through Mexico-type violent revolutions to solve their problems. Gordon pointed out that Mexican revolutions "cost one million lives in a then population of fifteen million." . . . Peace candidacies: Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh has gone all the way against LBJ: he favors a seat for Red China on the UN Security Council and a "neutral buffer state" for Vietnam. Cavanagh is running uphill race against Soapy Williams for Democratic senatorial nomination . . . In Conn., two Hards, Reps. Robert Giaimo and Donald Irwin, will be challenged respectively in Democratic primaries by Yale sociologist Robert M. Cook and John E. Fitzgerald, a biophysicist from Westport.

Joke of the week in Accra: The new regime has just published Kwame Nkrumah's will which starts . . . "I, Kwame Nkrumah of Africa . . ."

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